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OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* took place at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Friday, the 20th ultimo, Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., in the chair. Amongst the gentlemen on the platform and in the meeting were the following: Rev. Dr. Massie, Samuel Bowly, John Giles; Rev. James Long (of Calcutta); Mr. George Thomas, Mr. Gerald Ralston (Consul-General of Liberia); Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., Mr. Joseph Sewell, Rev. Samuel Crowther (Bishop designate of the Niger); Mr. W. Thistlewaite; Mr. B. H. Cadbury; Mr. W. Ball, Mr. Thomas Taylor (Clone, Ireland); Mr. Robert Alsop, Mr. J. Palmer (Tealing); Mr. James Doyle; Rev. W. K. Rowe (Brixton); Mr. Isaac Robson (Huddersfield); Mr. W. Brown (Torquay); Mr. Henry Sterry; Mr. J. Bourne (Reading); Mr. W. Allen (Winchmore Hill); — Goodbody (Ireland); Mr. Elihu Burritt, &c.

The CHAIRMAN called upon the Secretary to read the Report, an abstract of which only was presented. We subjoin the Report *in extenso*:

REPORT.

SINCE Your Committee last addressed you, the Act passed by the Netherlands' Government in 1862, for freeing the slaves in the Dutch West-India Colonies, has come into operation, restoring to liberty nearly 50,000 men, women, and children. More than 1,000,000 of the slave-population of the Southern States of the American Union have also either emancipated themselves by flight, or been liberated by the United-States' armies. These events mark an important era in the history of the anti-slavery movement, and will not fail to encourage its friends in the belief, that the final triumph of the principles they advocate cannot long be delayed.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The Slave-trade Papers annually presented to Parliament have not yet been issued, wherefore Your Committee cannot furnish any statement, founded upon official data, of the extent of the traffic last year, as compared with the year preceding. The Admiralty reports of cruisers returned home, reproduced in the public papers, and the information in private letters from the African Coast, refer only to individual cases of slave-trading, and furnish insufficient data for determining whether the trade from the Coast has, on the whole, diminished or increased. That it has been carried on to a deplorable extent, there is no doubt, and so long as the Cuban market remains open, the cessation of the traffic cannot be expected.

CUBA.—The extent of the trade into Cuba from Africa last year, Your Committee can judge of only from private information. It is alleged by some to have greatly diminished, through the determined opposition its promoters have encountered at the hands of the new Captain-General, Dulce, who is said to have summarily punished several of the most notorious. On the other hand, Your Committee are assured, that although General Dulce has certainly made an example of certain of these slave-importers, it has produced no sensible diminution of the importations. Persons recently from Cuba assert that last year the number of negroes introduced from Africa reached 40,000. Viscount Palmerston has stated in the House, this Session, that the importations had not exceeded "7000 or 8000," a statement made in so dubious a form, that very little confidence can be placed in it. Your Committee desire to believe that General Dulce's efforts have caused a diminution of the traffic; but looking back to the course of other Captains-General, immediately after their assumption of office, they do not feel encouraged to place much reliance upon the perma-

nency of General Dulce's alleged present hostility to the slave-trade, which it may be feared may be overcome by the temptation of the enormous gains to be derived from non-opposition.

**EGYPT AND THE WHITE NILE.**—Information has recently reached this country, that since the removal of Mr. Consul Petherick from Khartoum, Nubia, the slave-trade in the region of the White Nile has been resumed with unprecedented vigour, accompanied by circumstances of great atrocity. This circumstance is attributed entirely to the abolition of the Consulate established in 1849, in the Soudan, by the English Government. The Belgian Consul writes as follows, from Khartoum, on the 28th January of the present year.

"The slave-trade in the White Nile country, for a long time held in restraint and sufficiently feeble, has had for some years—thanks to the encouragement of certain high functionaries, who find their profit in it—an extension truly frightful, and it is exercised with such horrors that I hesitate to describe them. Every year more than one hundred vessels leave Khartoum for the purpose of hunting down the negroes; and those slaves who have formerly been brought in by stealth are now dragged publicly along the highways of the country, and even through the streets of Khartoum, with the yoke on their necks.

"The British Consul, Mr. J. Petherick, initiated measures which would soon have placed a limit to this traffic. Unfortunately, owing to the aversion of four-fifths of the Khartoums, who live by it, and of the high functionaries and their accomplices, he saw his reputation tarnished by false accusations; his fellow-citizens, his friends, misled on his account; he found no sufficient support, even before his superiors, who were doubtless thus prejudiced against him.

"The non-success of Mr. Petherick in his proceedings against certain persons accused of this traffic has given license to these slave-dealers: assured henceforth of impunity, and of the inefficiency of the law, they have thrown off the mask. It is an everlasting scandal to civilized Europe thus to authorize by her silence this infamous piracy, which has deluged the White Nile with blood; and for anti-slavery England, who, instead of declaring herself impotent in abolishing her Consulate at Khartoum, should have surrounded it with all the prestige possible, authorized severe measures, and extended a hand to enforce their execution."

Another correspondent writes as follows, from the same place, on the 11th November last :

"You have no idea how dreadful the slave-trade is here. The longer one stays, the more one finds it out. Last Monday I saw three boatsful of slaves shipped off to Cairo or Kordofan by the Government, guarded by soldiers. Oh, it was such a shocking sight! The Government pretend they do not allow Slavery, but they accept Slavery in payment from the people out here for their taxes. It is a burning shame!"

I cannot write all the horrors of it: it makes one quite giddy. They look so pitiful; with great collars round their necks, and some with chains on their legs. Too much cannot be said against it."

**PERU AND THE POLYNESIAN GROUP.**—On the 15th January 1861, the Congress of the Peruvian Republic passed a law, authorizing the introduction of Asiatics as labourers. In virtue of this law, one D. J. L. Byrne obtained, on the 1st of April 1862, permission to introduce into Peru, during six years, colonists of both sexes, natives of the South-Western Islands of the Pacific. Byrne proceeded to carry out his enterprise, largely assisted, it is said, by British capital, and by British vessels, owned by Liverpool firms. In September of the same year, it became known that the people he had procured, adults as well as those under age, were being sold in Lima at the rate of 200 and 300 dollars each; and soon after, that instead of having come voluntarily, the great majority had been kidnapped under circumstances of the grossest atrocity. Upwards of 2000 of these natives of Polynesia were torn from their homes—one island, called Easter Island, having even been depopulated—and such of them as survived the horrors of the voyage, in vessels crammed to excess, found themselves doomed to those of Slavery, in the mines and on the plantations of Peru. Many hundreds of these people were natives of islands into which the Gospel had been introduced with signal success, by the aboriginal Evangelists of the London Missionary Society; and it is related that, in one case, the poor victims, being under hatches, united, at about the hour of their evening worship, in singing and prayer. When the vessel neared shore next day, the captives, hearing their own tongue spoken by other natives who had been decoyed on board, made desperate efforts to escape, and some even succeeded in leaping overboard. They were fired at by the inhuman monsters on deck, and one young man, a church member, was shot through the head.

The following particulars of the proceedings of these slave-traders are taken from an article which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and will furnish a faint idea of their atrocity :

"While lying at anchor at Apia, Navigator Islands, on the 23rd of May, Captain Lyons, of the *Ocean* brig, obtained the following particulars from parties just arrived in the schooner *Emily*, from Sunday Island, situated lat. 19.12 S., long. 178.13 W.: 'The schooner *Emily* sailed from Bay of Islands on the 3rd of February, for Sunday Island, and on arrival there found a large barque at anchor. On the captain of the

schooner landing, he saw a number of natives that he knew to come from Duke of York and Duke of Clarence Islands, and, as he could speak their language, they told him how that the barque had visited their islands, and that the captain and crew, well armed, landed in their boats, drove all the people down to the beach at the point of the bayonet, took every man, old and young, that had any strength, and took them on board the ship, leaving none on the two islands but a few old white-headed men and some women and children. The islands are almost depopulated. There were a number of natives from Savage Island on board, as well as from Manikie, Danger, Easter, and other islands. There were about twenty-five women and forty children taken off Easter Island. When the slaver made Danger Island, the Missionary ashore sent a canoe off to know what vessel it was, and to obtain information. On the canoe coming alongside, both it and the man were hoisted on board : the latter was put below the hatches, and the former broken up for firewood. The object of the slaver visiting Sunday Island was to try and restore the health of his cargo, which must have been very numerous, as 300 or more of men, women, and children, that were in a dying state, owing to their crowded condition, were landed in a most deplorable plight. They were so emaciated and feeble that they could not stand, some not able to crawl. The first launch load that was landed consisted of fifty-three men : only three could stand of the number, three were found dead on the launch reaching the beach, and the residue were hauled out of the boat in the roughest manner to be conceived, and thrown on the beach—some beyond the surf, and others in it. Several were drowned where they were thrown, and eighty died immediately after being landed. Some, not having strength to crawl beyond the reach of the tide, were drowned. As soon as some of the others gained a little strength, and were able to move about, they ate almost every thing that came in their reach, and the consequence was that diarrhoea, flux, and cramp seized them, and carried them off in numbers. The dead bodies were buried on the beach, in the sand, and when the tide rose and the surf set in, all the bodies were disinterred and strewed all over the beach, and allowed to remain as the tide left them. On the 19th of April a considerable number of the people had partially recovered, and were able to walk about. Many of them intended to start for the high land just before the sailing of the barque, and hide themselves, which they can do, as the island is favourable for that purpose. The slave-vessel is one of seven, of a similar nature, that are known to have been among the islands. The same barque visited the east end of Upolo, one of the Navigator Islands, and took a native out of a trading boat that was returning to Apia, as well as what money there was, and some oil, and afterwards sent the boat adrift with one European in it, when the land was just visible from the ship, without food or water. The boat reached the land after being at sea two days. The population of Sunday Island before the arrival of the slaver consisted of four families, numbering twenty-two in all. Their occupation was cultivating a variety of vegetables, and

rearing stock to supply the whaling ships that periodically visited the island. In fourteen days after the natives were landed out of the slaver, the residents, who were Europeans, were attacked by the same disease as the natives were, and in a few days eight out of the twenty-two died. On the arrival of the schooner all of them but one man were ill, and he had to attend to all, as well as bury the dead. As soon as the residue could bear removal, they were taken on board the schooner, and on its arrival at Apia they had all recovered. Some families had lost a father, some a mother, and one both father and mother. There was a poor little girl of fourteen months old, and her brother of eleven years old, who were left destitute and orphans. The little girl found a kind protector at Apia, and the little boy is on board the *Ocean* brig. Sunday Island is uninhabited now."

To these may be added an extract from a letter of the Rev. W. G. Lawes, the only European Missionary among the people, and who wrote from Savage Island :

"When the ship sailed on the night of the capture, the natives on board thought she was making a long tack ; but they soon found that they were really off. Two white men, armed, guarded the hatchway, which was shut down, and the poor creatures below were in total darkness. They kept knocking at the door, deck, and sides of the ship, and calling to be let out ; but some of the white men went down, and beat them with great pieces of wood, for making a noise. When the poor captives thought it was about the time of their evening worship, they united in their wretched confinement in singing and prayer.

"On the following day the vessel stood in towards the shore ; and some natives, ignorant of the character of the ship, and of what had transpired, went on board. Those in confinement recognised the well-known sounds of their native tongue, and shouted for help, but of course in vain. By desperate efforts they succeeded in breaking a hole in the door large enough to let one through at a time. A number succeeded in reaching the deck, and rushed over the ship's side into the sea ; but there were only two or three small canoes, land was a long way off, and some were not able to swim well. The wretches on board fired from the deck upon the helpless natives in the canoes and in the water. A boat was lowered, and many were recaptured. Seven only escaped. Among those carried off were thirteen church members, and many candidates. Eighteen wives are left without husbands, and sixty-three children are deprived of their fathers.

"One young man, Simeona, a church member, was brought home a corpse, shot through the head. The white wretches fired upon the unarmed and unresisting natives, for no other reason than that they might terrify them, and so make them an easy prey. Some of the canoes surrendered in terror : only three escaped to tell the sad tale.

"Among those carried off are some of the most important men on the island, the law-makers and law-enforcers of Savage Island, and some of

the most promising young men. Twenty-five church members, one deacon, and many candidates are among the captives.

"It is indeed a day of darkness and gloominess on Niue, and many other of these interesting isles. It is as if the powers of hell were let loose upon their defenceless tribes.

"One of the most touching incidents connected with this sad affair," says the Rev. A. W. Murray, "is the fact, that on the morning following the dreadful day on which the murderous proceedings took place at Savage Island, the natives, while their hearts were bleeding and their tears flowing because fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons were torn from their embrace, should lift up their voice to God in prayer, not to invoke vengeance upon the heads of their guilty oppressors, but to pray that their hearts might be changed, and that they might be led to abandon their wicked courses. How like the spirit of Him whose followers they profess to be, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And still more touching, perhaps, is the scene on board that floating hell where the poor captives were confined. When they supposed the hour had arrived at which they had been wont with their families to worship God in their happy homes, now no longer theirs, they united in their accustomed exercises; they prayed and sang praises to God, and no doubt, like their friends on shore, sought blessings for the miserable men by whom they were being so cruelly wronged."

An English gentleman, resident at Lima, makes the subjoined statement:

"Fifteen hundred natives of Polynesia have been imported and sold here (at Peru). At the hotel where I resided there is a boy employed in the kitchen; and an American woman, residing in the house, has a little girl of about four years old, for which she paid sixty piastres. The mortality among them is very great, especially on the sugar-cane and on the rice plantations. They are there attacked by the dysentery and die rapidly. On one estate alone seventy-five were thus carried off. Their treatment is nearly the same as that of the negroes in the time of Slavery. They are given something to eat and drink because they have cost money; but they are beaten when they do not work, and, as that is altogether contrary to their habits and their thoughts, a great number have died under the blows inflicted upon them.

"Nothing can be done with the women; they absolutely refuse to work. It is something really sad to see people sold like beasts, who can read their Bible, know how to write, and who are, in some respects, superior to their masters."

The foregoing facts may be left to tell their own mournful tale. What course was taken to check these barbarous proceedings pertains to another part of this Report.

#### SLAVERY.

As an introduction to the record of events bearing upon the question of Slavery, it may be useful to advert to the number of slaves existing, so far as is known, in different parts of the world.

Commencing with the United States, the last census returns gave, in round numbers, 4,000,000 in the Southern States of the Union. Upwards of 1,000,000 of these are stated to have regained their freedom in consequence of the war.

In Brazil the number exceeds 3,000,000, for whose emancipation Your Committee are assured that measures are in contemplation.

In Cuba the slave population must now greatly exceed 1,000,000. There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the actual number, on account of the discrepancies in the official returns of the population as taken under the last census. This gave the whole number of the slaves as 370,553, and 6050 of the class *emancipados*. According to the census of 1850, there were then 322,519 slaves; but previously, in 1840, the census returns had set forth the slave population at 496,495; so that while, as compared with the census of 1850, the slaves were shewn to have increased in number, in ten years, to the extent of 48,034, in twenty years—from 1840 to 1860—they had diminished by 125,942, notwithstanding the annual importations of fresh negroes, which may be safely estimated as not under 20,000. The census returns for 1840, published in 1841, were notoriously incorrect, a fact commented upon by the Earl of Aberdeen, in a despatch to Mr. Bulwer, dated 31st Dec. 1843, in which his lordship states, on authority, that, according to the most intelligent inhabitants of the island, the slave population was not, in the year 1840, under from 800,000 to 900,000.

It is stated on Spanish official authority that the natural increase of the slaves is at the annual rate of two per cent. If, therefore, we accept as correct the return of the number of slaves in Cuba, in 1840-41, they ought, in 1861, to have numbered very nearly 500,000 more (497,284) than the number recorded, which would bring the figures up to nearly 1,000,000 (993,779).

In this estimate no account is taken of the additions made to the permanent slave population by annual importations of fresh negroes. The question naturally arises, what has become of the 400,000 who, it is computed, have been introduced from Africa during the last twenty years, supposing the importations to have never exceeded 20,000 every year? a number notoriously below the average. We know that, before emancipation took place, the slave population in our West-India colonies was rapidly diminishing; but there was no slave-trade to recruit it. In the case of Cuba we have not only an enormous yearly importation of fresh Africans, but a recorded annual natural increase, the rate of which, it may be taken for granted, is not overstated.

We must, then, either believe that Slavery in Cuba is only a system of wholesale murder, or we must call in question the accuracy of the census returns. Your Committee believe both these positions may be reconciled, though apparently contradictory. The discrepancies indicated arise solely from the systematic attempts of the Cuban authorities to conceal the actual number of the slave population, lest the figures should furnish a clue to the extent of the contraband traffic in Africans. Your Committee possess sufficient collateral evidence to justify them in expressing the conviction, that the slave population of Cuba, notoriously, at least, 800,000 in 1841, has been doubled since that date, notwithstanding the sacrifice of life resulting from excessive labour on the plantations.

Portugal decreed, in 1854, that the emancipation of the slaves in her trans-marine possessions should take place in twenty years from that date. The chief Portuguese trans-marine provinces are those of Angola, on the coast of South Africa, and of Mozambique, on the east coast, although the coast-line over which the Portuguese government claims a right of jurisdiction extends from Cape Delgado to Delagoa Bay. In these two provinces alone slaves are now held. The number in all the other dependencies, having been originally small, and not recruited by importations, their liberation was decreed by special acts of immediate effect, strengthened by prohibitions of any new introductions. It can be shewn that Portuguese rule in East Africa is limited to a comparatively restricted area, and the number of slaves over whom the Government may be said to exercise any control is correspondingly small. A few thousands would probably cover the whole, the major part of whom are in Mozambique. Throughout these parts, and elsewhere scattered, as in Madagascar, in Turkey, Asiatic and European, and portions of Asia and Africa, there may be perhaps 1,000,000 of slaves in all, making a great total of 9,000,000.

This recapitulation of the slave population of the world is sufficient to shew that the efforts of Your Society are directed to promote the emancipation of a very considerable proportion of the human race, and to prevent the extension of the system of Slavery into regions yet unpolluted by it.

**AMERICA.**—The extraordinary development of public opinion in the United States in favour of the abolition of Slavery, is one of those circumstances which can scarcely have failed to impress the most prejudiced observer. The first indication of change in this direction was made sensibly manifest, by the rapid growth of the Free-soil party, which was originally pledged simply

to the policy of restricting Slavery to its then actual area. In 1848, the Free-soil vote for Mr. Van Buren, amounted to only 291,378. In 1852, it had even diminished, for Mr. Hale polled only 158,123. In the four succeeding years, however, the Free-soil party enlarged its platform, and hence arose the Republican party, which nominated Colonel Fremont for the Presidency, in 1856, when he polled 1,342,069 votes, but was defeated by Mr. Buchanan. In 1860, Mr. Lincoln obtained 1,866,452 votes, all in the Free States, the whole of the Slave States having voted for the other candidates. The surprising advance of public sentiment in favour of freedom has been commented upon by travellers recently returned from America, as one of the most astounding phenomena of the protracted struggle between the two sections of the Union; and as time wears on, and the contest grows more embittered, the tendency towards unanimity of view rapidly increases. It is gratifying to record that amongst no class of the community has the revulsion of feeling against Slavery been so remarkable as amongst the various religious denominations in the Northern States. But a very few years ago, the support and countenance extended to Slavery by the reluctance of ministers of these denominations to promote its abolition, by word or deed, was a crying scandal and reproach. With a few honorable exceptions, the pro-slavery taint was general. At the present moment, the number of ministers is very small in the North, who are not only thoroughly anti-slavery—as, indeed, many professed to be before—but who do not also take a part in the abolition movement. This sentiment has unquestionably arisen out of the conviction which has been gradually forcing itself upon all classes, that permanent peace cannot be secured, unless the one acknowledged cause of dissension be removed.

With reference to the action of the Federal Government, if it may be alleged that during the earlier period of this deplorable contest only the restoration of the Union was its immediate object, it is undeniable that emancipation has now become too intimately associated with the political question, to be any more disconnected from it. Much capital for agitation against the North has been made out of the fact, that the abolition of Slavery was not the primary purpose of the Government in going to war; and this notwithstanding it is notorious that the first duty of the President, under his oath to the constitution, is to preserve the national integrity. The most radical of the American abolitionists, those whose unswerving fidelity to the slave has for upwards of a quar-

ter of a century been to them a bye-word and a reproach, and whose sincerity cannot be called in question, have advocated the abolition of Slavery only as a means to an end ; and if, at the very outset, their suggestion that the President should exercise what are called his "war powers," and, in virtue of them, declare Slavery abolished throughout the land, was not acted upon, the outcry with which his emancipation proclamation was received, when at length he did issue it, in a measure justified his reluctance to launch it earlier. Those who attempt to depreciate the anti-slavery policy of the Federal Executive, by alleging only political motives as its basis, and denying it any merit on humanitarian grounds, not only wilfully or ignorantly misrepresent the case against both President and Government, but refuse to take account of his restricted powers as the head of the Executive, in relation to a local institution, such as Slavery is in fact. The same remark applies to the limitation of his abolition decree in its operation to only the States and parts of States in rebellion. Its non-extension to loyal Slave-Sates was not a matter of choice, but a legal necessity, for which the constitution alone must be held responsible. Mr. Lincoln could not declare free the slaves in the loyal Slave-States, or in such parts of others as remained loyal, without flagrantly exceeding his powers as Chief of the Republic, and infringing the prerogatives of the States affected ; but on the other hand, he remained strictly within them, when he declared the dissolution of the recognised and legal relation between the slaves and their owners throughout the States, or parts of States, in actual rebellion. Your Committee are of opinion that events will demonstrate this act to have been a war measure, only in so far as it emanated from the President in the exercise of his powers extraordinary as Commander-in-Chief, of which wise advantage was taken to cover an act of justice—imperfect, it is true, but, so far as it went, as thorough as under the circumstances it was possible lawfully to make it.

With regard to this very question, a recent letter of Mr. Lincoln's, addressed to A. G. Hodges, Esq., of Frankfort, Kentucky, is so explicit, that Your Committee consider it important to introduce it in this place, as a perfect exposition of the President's sentiments and policy.

"Executive Mission, Washington, April 4.

"My dear Sir,—You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day, in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows :—

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If Slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel. And

yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took, that I would to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that, in ordinary civil administration, this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary, abstract judgment on the moral question of Slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on Slavery.

"I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government—that nation—of which that constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation, and yet preserve the constitution ?

"By general law, life and limb must be protected: yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that to the best of my ability I had even tried to preserve the constitution, if to save Slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and constitution, all together.

"When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come.

"When, in March, and May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the Border States to favour compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the constitution, or of laying a strong hand upon the coloured element. I chose the latter. In choosing it I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this I was not entirely confident.

"More than a year of trial now shews no loss by it, in our foreign relations; none in our home popular sentiment; none in our white military force—no loss by it, anyhow, or anywhere. On the contrary, it shews a gain of quite 130,000 soldiers, seamen, and labourers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no cavilling. We have the men;

and we could not have had them without the measure.

" And now, let any Union man, who complains of the measure, test himself, by writing down in one line, that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms, and in the next that he is for taking these 330,000 men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth.

" I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of the three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

" Yours truly,  
" A. LINCOLN.

" A. G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Ky.'

In his last Annual Message, the President declared his determination to abide by his emancipation policy. Referring to his memorable Proclamation, he says :

" To abandon it would not only be to relinquish lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith. I may add at this point, that while I remain in my present position shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to Slavery any person who is free by the terms of that Proclamation, or by any of the Acts of Congress."

The later action of the President and Congress, in seeking to give full effect to this Proclamation, and to inaugurate measures of a more radical kind, are a sufficient answer to the allegations of insincerity it has become a fashion to bring against Mr. Lincoln and his administration, for the purpose of throwing discredit upon the anti-slavery party, and thereby strengthening the partisans of the Slaveholders' Confederacy.

The proclamation of conditional amnesty which accompanied the President's last Message, contains a clause which refers back to the decision of the Supreme Court, questions arising out of the operation of the various Acts of Congress and the Proclamations of the President, having reference to slaves, so that there was a manifest prospective danger of a repudiation of these Acts, and consequently of their annulment. In judging of this last-mentioned proclamation, the same test of the constitutional

limitation of the President's powers, as of those of Congress, must be applied to it as to its predecessors, when it will be found that although there exists real cause of anxiety, no alternative presented of dealing otherwise with this complicated question, and the danger had to be met and obviated by appeal to an authority more potent than that of the Supreme Court, namely, "the people of the United States." Hence has arisen the proposition recently adopted by the Senate, by a majority of thirty-eight to six, and now under the consideration of the House of Representatives, for an amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that "neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Should the House of Representatives adopt the amendment, and should then the requisite majority of the several States' Legislatures accept it, Slavery will be constitutionally abolished throughout the whole of the United States. It is to be hoped the House of Representatives will not reject the proposition now before it, although, should it even do so, the circumstance ought scarcely to occasion much surprise, nor should defeat be considered a cause of discouragement. Our own Emancipation Act was not carried till after successive defeats, and at last only by the compensation and apprenticeship compromise, and we had not Slavery actually in our midst, nor was it intimately mixed up with our political institutions.

Fully to appreciate the more recent action of the President and his Administration, with reference to Slavery, it should be borne in remembrance that the Emancipation Proclamation did not, as has been erroneously supposed, abolish Slavery itself, in the Rebel States and parts of States in rebellion, but merely declared dissolved the admitted legal relation between the rebels and their slaves, leaving Slavery just where it was, as a local institution, to be dealt with constitutionally, at a later period. Had peace been made, under these circumstances, Slavery would still have remained a legalized and living system, and would doubtless have brought forth, in due time, its old evil consequences. The various motions which have since been submitted to the Legislature for its approval, all tend, directly or indirectly, to destroy Slavery itself as a system, root and branch, and to remove from the emancipated slave and his race the stigma and the disabilities hitherto attaching to colour as distinctive of caste. Some of these measures have been adopted, others are under consideration, and some have been rejected,

or deliberation upon their merits deferred. That measures of this nature should even have received attention, is strikingly illustrative of the change which has taken place in Congress as well as in public opinion, especially in view of the fact, that a very few years ago the distinguished Senator for Massachusetts, the Hon. C. Sumner, was, for delivering an oration against Slavery, nearly assassinated in his place in the Senate, by the bludgeon of a Southern leader in the same House, and that his dastardly assailant was not only commended for the brutal deed, but was presented with testimonials in commemoration of it.

It may be useful to record in this place the various measures relating to the Slavery question which have distinguished Mr. Lincoln's administration of the affairs of the United States.

1862.—(Feb. 19th.) Act prohibiting the Coolie-trade in American vessels by American citizens.

(March 13th.) Act forbidding military and naval officers to return fugitive slaves, under penalty of dismissal.

(April 7th.) New slave-trade Treaty with Great Britain, conceding right of search.

(April 10th.) Joint resolutions approved, declaring that the United States ought to co-operate with, and afford pecuniary aid to, any State which may adopt the abolishment of Slavery.

(April 16th.) An act for the release of persons held to service or labour in the District of Columbia, admitting evidence of coloured persons, and making appropriation to aid colonization.

(May 19th.) President's appeal to Rebel States to take advantage of resolutions approved 10th April.

(May 20th.) Primary schools' Act. Clause, levying 10 per cent. on property of coloured persons for initiating system of education of coloured children.

(May 20th.) Homestead Act, to facilitate free settlement on public lands.

(May 21st.) Act providing for education of coloured persons in the district of Columbia, and extending to persons of colour in the district of Columbia, the same laws as free white persons.

(June 5th.) Act empowering appointment of diplomatic Representatives to Hayti and Liberia.

(June 7th.) Act for collecting taxes in the insurrectionary districts. Clause for appropriations from same, for fund to assist coloured persons willing to emigrate to Hayti or Liberia.

(June 19th.) Act to secure freedom of all persons within United-States' territories.

(July 11th.) Act creating board of trustees of schools for coloured children in the District of Columbia.

(July 11th.) Act to carry into effect Slave-trade treaty with Great Britain.

(July 12th.) Act supplementary to the act for the release of slaves in the District of Columbia.

(July 17th.) Act to amend the act, and extend the same, relating to slave-trade treaty with Great Britain.

(July 17th.) Act to amend the militia act, giving special powers to enrol persons of African descent for military service, and declaring free slaves and their families rendering such service.

(July 17th.) Appropriation bill for civil expenses, containing clause to appropriate 500,000 dols. out of confiscated property to carry out act of Congress for emancipation in District of Columbia.

(July 17th.) Act to suppress insurrection, containing clause confiscating rebel property, declaring slaves of rebels captives of war, and for ever free, and legalizing employment of persons of African descent in suppressing rebellion in such wise as President thinks proper. Contains clause against surrender of slaves of rebels under fugitive slave-law, and authorizing colonization of persons of African descent willing to emigrate.

(Sept. 22.) President's proclamation declaring slaves in Rebel States free from the 1st of January 1863, and again recommending adoption by other States of a measure of compensated emancipation.

1863.—(January 1st) Proclamation of freedom.

(Feb. 14.) Act to incorporate national association for relief of destitute coloured women and children in the District of Columbia.

(Feb. 28.) Act providing temporary government for Arizona, and containing clause prohibiting Slavery.

(February 24th.) Act declaring certain portions of New Mexico to belong to Arizona, and repealing laws recognising Slavery therein.

(March 3rd.) Act to extend charter of Alexandria and Washington Railroad Company, containing clause prohibiting exclusion from the cars on account of colour.

(March 3rd.) Act to incorporate institution in D. C. for education of coloured youth

(March 3rd.) Act providing temporary government for the territory of Idaho.

(March 3rd.) Act to promote efficiency of corps of engineers and ordnance department, containing clause empowering enlistment of two under-cooks of African descent for each cook per company, allowing 10 dols. per month and rations.

During the present Session, Congress has been actively employed considering further measures to promote complete emancipation,

of which the following are most important : In the Senate : a Bill, making all persons in the United States equal before the law, and abolishing all claims to personal service, save for crime : the presentation by Mr. Sumner of a petition for abolishing Slavery, signed by many hundred thousands of persons : the presentation by the same Senator, of the minority report of a Select Committee, in favour of the repeal of all laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves : the appointment of a Select Committee to take into consideration all propositions and papers concerning Slavery and the treatment of freed-men ; and the adoption by a large majority of the proposition to amend the Constitution, so as to ensure the abolition of involuntary servitude, save for crime, throughout all the States of the Union.

In the House of Representatives, the following Bills, amongst others relating to the question of Slavery, have been presented, and are under consideration :

A Bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation : to fix the pay of coloured troops : to repeal the Fugitive-Slave Act of 12th February 1793, and the Act emendatory of the same of September 18th, 1850: for the admission of the territory of Colorado (since adopted) ; to repeal the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850, and all Acts and parts of Acts for the rendition of fugitive slaves : to provide for the submission to the several States of a proposition to amend the Constitution, so as to prohibit Slavery or involuntary servitude, save for crime, in all the States, and in all the Territories actually owned, or which may be acquired, by the United States : to admit Nebraska as a State (adopted) : to admit Montana (adopted) : to authorise enlistment of coloured persons in the rebellious districts : to repeal certain sections of the Fugitive-Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 : to abolish Slavery in the United-States' Territories, and to extend all civil rights to freed-men : to protect freed-men : to aid the President to execute the proclamation of the 1st January 1863, declaring unlawful the re-enslavement of persons declared free by proclamation, or of their descendants : a joint resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution so as to abolish Slavery in them.

But the abolition movement is not confined to Congress. The Border States, and some of the Slave States themselves, are assuming the initiative in this direction. By a vote of 51 to 30 Missouri has declared, that in 1870 Slavery shall be abolished. Slaves who are then over forty are to be servants during life; those under twelve, till they are twenty-three; those over twelve, until the 4th July 1876.

Western Virginia has constituted herself

free, and has been admitted into the Union as a Free State. The new constitution provides that the children born of slaves after next July shall be free. All slaves under ten years of age are to be free when they reach twenty-one years. All slaves over ten and under twenty-one are to be free at twenty-five years of age. No slaves will be permitted to come into the State for permanent residence.

The Cherokee Legislature has also revoked the ordinance of secession and the treaty with the rebel Government, passed by a former Legislature. It has also passed an Act deposing from office all Cherokees disloyal to the Government of the United States, and declaring them for ever thereafter incompetent to hold any office; also a resolution asking the President to extend to the nation the offer of compensated emancipation. At the same time a Bill has become a law unconditionally abolishing Slavery. Another law has been passed declaring all persons born in the Cherokee territory citizens of the nation, including persons of African descent as well as whites.

Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada, are framing State constitutions on the basis of free institutions, and will shortly enter the Union as Free States.

The late elections in Maryland turned entirely upon the question of Slavery or emancipation, and resulted in a majority in favour of the latter. A resolution has also been introduced in the Legislature, endorsing President Lincoln's policy, amnesty, and proclamation.

The Maine State Legislature has likewise adopted concurrent resolutions fully endorsing President Lincoln's proclamation, giving freedom to the slaves, approving of compensated emancipation, and the use of negroes in the military service of the United States, and opposing all suggestions of compromise.

Kentucky, Delaware, Tennessee, Arkansas, and even North Carolina, are following in the same direction. For example, at a Convention recently held at Nashville, Tennessee, the delegates were pledged to abolition, and Governor Johnson, formerly a slaveholder, but converted by events, delivered an address, not only advocating immediate emancipation, but declaring gradual emancipation to be preposterous. The Convention of friends of freedom from the Slave States, which met at Louisville, Ky., on the 22nd February, and adjourned on the 24th, adopted resolutions declaring that Slavery is the cause of the rebellion ; that peace cannot be obtained until the principles of freedom announced in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution are

carried into practice; that it is proper that the Constitution should be amended so as to secure freedom to every human being within its jurisdiction; that the President, during a rebellion, has authority, in the exercise of the war power, to free all the slaves in the rebellious districts, and ought, in the present rebellion, to exercise this power to its full extent; objecting to the President's amnesty proclamation, the effect of which is thought injurious, and urging its recall or suspension until the rebellion is crushed; providing for a permanent Executive Committee to represent the Convention; and in favour of a change in the United-States' Constitution, to make the President eligible only for one term.

Another remarkable Convention was held at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 8th of January last, to consider what measures should be adopted for reorganizing the State Government and modifying the State Constitution in favour of freedom. This Convention was composed of the largest and most influential bodies ever convened in the State. Delegates from twenty-seven counties were in attendance, and of these counties only twelve were occupied by the national troops. Some of the most intelligent and respectable inhabitants of the State attended and voted. The proposition for immediate emancipation received an almost unanimous vote, there being only one dissentient; and at the late election 17,000 votes were polled, of which only 200 were against the new free constitution and loyal reorganization.

At Huntsville, Alabama, in the very heart of Secession, a large Union meeting has been held, at which the wealthiest and most reputable citizens were present. J. Clemens, formerly the representative of the State in the Senate, and Judge Humphries, addressed the meeting, which adopted resolutions requiring the Governor to convene the Legislature, that it might call a Convention to consider measures in favour of a restoration to the Union. This implies the abolition of Slavery throughout the State.

This brief, and necessarily imperfect record of the movement in favour of emancipation in so many of the States of the Union, must be accepted as the manifestation of a wide-spread feeling, which is not likely to confine itself to even its present limits, and as the result of a conviction, not to be shaken, that the continuance of Slavery is incompatible with the preservation of the Union and with the prospect of permanent peace, and, therefore, that it must be exterminated.

Your Committee view with undiminished concern and sorrow, the continuation of the civil war. At the same time, they do not hesitate to cast the responsibility of it upon the

leaders of the rebellion, who deliberately and with malice aforethought commenced it, and are mercilessly prosecuting it, for the avowed sole object of extending, consolidating, and perpetuating a system of servitude the most degrading, demoralizing, and odious, of which history furnishes any example. Apart from the misery and suffering incidental to a state of war, the present contest has created a peculiar class of sufferers, who have special claims to commiseration. Your Committee refer to the large and increasing number of men, women, and children, who, taking advantage of the proximity of the United-States' troops, have fled from Slavery, and taken refuge within the Federal lines, or who have been abandoned by their former owners, and have, in consequence, been unexpectedly thrown upon the care of the United-States' Government. Notwithstanding its most strenuous efforts to meet the terrible and sudden exigencies of the case, it has found it impossible to alleviate, in every instance, so huge a flood of suffering. Many hundreds of the refugees, exposed to the inclemencies of an unusually trying season, perished of cold, hunger, and sickness, but preferred dying in freedom to living in Slavery. Private benevolence at once interposed, to supplement, as far as practicable, the unavoidable short-comings of the United States' Government, and generous, self-sacrificing women and men unhesitatingly devoted themselves to the noble work of ministering to the immediate necessities of these poor wanderers, of providing them with employment, of educating them, and of watching over them, rescuing from the jaws of death numbers who must have perished but for the unwearied efforts of this army of good Samaritans. But even their ministrations have fallen short of the ever-augmenting requirements of the moment, wherefore aid from this side has been solicited and forwarded. A London Committee has been constituted, to raise funds for the sufferers, and other similar independent local organizations, for the same benevolent object, have come into existence, as also a *Free Man's Aid Society*—the latter under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., the youthful inheritor of a name dear to all the friends of the slave. The efforts of these Committees have been promptly seconded by the various Anti-slavery Societies throughout the kingdom; and Your Committee believe that it is only necessary the distress and destitution of this class of the refugees from Slavery, who are computed to exceed half a million, should be made known, to elicit the warmest sympathies of British hearts, and a corresponding influx of liberal contributions in aid.

One of the most encouraging and interesting features of this modern Exodus is the

alacrity with which the refugees or contrabands settle down to labour for wages. Large numbers of them, and these by no means favourable specimens of the class, have been colonized in various suitable localities, where they have at once commenced the cultivation of the soil, and the results of this free-labour experiment, up to the present time, have proved highly satisfactory. The people are assiduous, orderly, grateful, and eager to earn. Old and young manifest extraordinary anxiety to learn how to read, and, as a rule, are not found, either in capacity or aptitude, inferior to individuals of the white race who have not had opportunities of developing their natural capabilities. All who are able to work likewise exhibit a most encouraging disposition to assist their less fortunate companions. As a general result of this experiment, it may be affirmed that it sets at rest the question of the fitness of the slaves for immediate freedom. Those under notice have at least proved themselves so, and become at once valuable members of the community, as producers and consumers. It may be alleged, however, that these freed-men being to some extent under supervision, feel constrained to work, and would probably fall off were they left to themselves. Fortunately, for this class of objectors another class of facts is in store. On a considerable number of the plantations in Louisiana, Mississippi, the coast-line of Florida, indeed, wherever the Federal Government has re-established its authority, the negroes are pursuing their ordinary agricultural labours, as freed-men, and receiving wages for their services, in virtue of special agreements entered into between themselves and their former masters. The new arrangement has proved so satisfactory to the latter, that, generally, they assert they would not recur to slave-labour if they could. In making a virtue of necessity, these employers of freed negro labour are, doubtless, wise in their generation; but making due allowance for an enthusiasm in favour of free-labour scarcely old enough to have more than a passing value as testimony, sufficient evidence is on record to establish the advantages of free-labour over compulsory toil, as illustrated on the scale common to the employment of the latter in plantation culture.

The deplorable riots which took place in New York last July deserve a passing reference, because they were dwelt upon by pro-slavery journals as illustrating the feeling of the people in the North against the coloured race. There is now no doubt that these riots were got up on the pretext of an opposition to the draft by partisans of the South, who wrought upon and inflamed the passions of the very lowest classes of the city, namely, the gangs which work upon

the wharfs, and then proceeded to lead them on to wreak vengeance upon individuals of a race, to keep which in Slavery their southern allies have rebelled. A highly interesting Report, published by the "Merchant's Committee for the Relief of the Sufferers," resulted from these riots, and established that so far from the free coloured people of the city being, as was alleged, "many times worse off than the slaves on the Southern plantations," they belonged to all classes of occupation, were hard-working and educated, and compared favourably with other citizens. The claims of compensation, on behalf of 2000 applicants, amounted to £29,000. The outrages committed upon this section of the population elicited unexpected sympathy from persons who had been entirely opposed to abolition, and converted many into its partisans. The address of thanks, which was presented to the Merchants' Committee, was an admirably worded document, and furnished, incidentally, a further proof of the aptitude of the race for making use of acquired knowledge.

Your Committee, in closing this portion of their Report, cannot refrain from expressing the belief that out of the great calamity which has befallen the American people, their salvation from the curse of Slavery will come, in the fulness of time. By their rebellion, the slaveholders have themselves struck a fatal blow at their own cherished institution, and it is not in the order of progress that it should long resist the moral influences now also warring against it from every side: influences similar to which have, within a generation, effected the release of the slaves in the British, French, Danish, and Dutch Colonies, the prospective emancipation of those in the Portuguese possessions, the prohibition of Slavery by all the civilized powers save Brazil, Spain and the United States, and the liberation of the serfs throughout the Russian Empire.

#### BRAZIL.

Your Committee have already stated that the importations of slaves into Brazil from Africa has totally ceased. Mr. Christie estimates the number introduced in twenty years, from 1831 to 1850, at 1,000,000, who became entitled to their freedom under the Convention of 1817 with Portugal, which was incorporated into the Brazilian treaty of 1826. They were to serve a fourteen years' apprenticeship, and then unconditionally to be set free. These stipulations have not been complied with.

It is thus shewn that one-third of the entire slave population of Brazil is detained in a state of bondage, contrary to the stipulations of the Convention referred to. Representations on the subject have been made, but very little hope exists of eli-

minating any considerable number of this class of slaves from their companions in misfortune, so completely have they merged into the mass. It is to be hoped that, in consideration of this deplorable fact, the measures which it is rumoured are under consideration for effecting emancipation, may be speedily brought forward, especially the one declaring free all slave-children born from the date of the projected Act. Your Committee are gratified to record that the anti-slavery cause has an increasing number of friends in Brazil. There is an *Anti-Slavery Society* in Rio de Janeiro, which keeps the question alive, and watches for opportunities of developing public sentiment and promoting measures of an anti-slavery character. Senator Silveira da Motta, has proposed three successive times, the prohibition of the sale of slaves at public auction, and the separation of slave-families by sale; but though the proposition has passed the Senate, it has not yet been discussed in the Deputies. The same Senator has been urging the Government to look at the question of the abolition of Slavery, throughout the empire, as one of which the consideration cannot long be delayed. In the Deputies, also, Senor Madureira has formally demanded the freedom of the 10,000 slaves, the remnant emancipated by the Mixed Commission Courts and who it is alleged may be traced out. In September last, Doctor A. M. Perdigão Malheiro, President of the Institute of Advocates, delivered an eloquent address to the members of that Institution on the occasion of the recommencement of its Session, the subject being "the illegality of property in slaves, and the necessity of immediate emancipation." The *Correio Mercantil*, the organ of the Liberal party in Brazil, is a newspaper which exposes the abuses of Slavery, and has frequently published communications from Your Committee, and several of the documents issued by them. The efforts of this small party are now directed to endeavour to obtain the prohibition of the inter-provincial coast-wise slave-trade, which is attended with much suffering, and which, as will be seen from the subjoined official returns, is not inconsiderable. The following is the number of slaves imported into Rio de Janeiro from Northern and Southern ports, from 1852, to be first six months in 1862.

|      |     |      |      |     |      |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|------|
| 1852 | ... | 3801 | 1858 | ... | 1590 |
| 1853 | ... | 3401 | 1859 | ... | 1116 |
| 1854 | ... | 4399 | 1860 | ... | 3288 |
| 1855 | ... | 3371 | 1861 | ... | 4664 |
| 1856 | ... | 3867 | 1862 | ... | 958  |
| 1857 | ... | 4099 |      |     |      |

#### RUSSIA.

In their last Report, Your Committee gave a brief outline of the measures in operation

throughout the Russian Empire, to carry forward the emancipation of the serfs. They have now to record the full and complete success of the Act which set free 23,000,000 of individuals, and to refer you for details to the series of letters on the subject published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for January, February, March, and May of the present year, and written by the Rev. James Long, on his return from a visit to Russia.

#### WEST INDIES.

Your Committee keep a watchful eye upon the West-India Colonies, the rights and interests of whose population require vigilant guardianship. Numerous complaints reach Your Committee of mis-direction of justice there, and of the exceeding difficulty experienced by the people of procuring redress. The cases being mainly of individual hardship, Your Committee are too often precluded from interference, because the usual channel of complaint is through the administration, for the time being, of the local Government, but the aggregate of grievances discloses a condition of things which urgently demands investigation. It is the more difficult for Your Committee to act in this matter, because the remedy really, to a certain extent, lies with the people themselves, whose friends suggest that they should adopt the same course as is open to their fellow-subjects at home. The reply, however, is, that the two cases are not parallel, class-feeling running exceedingly high in the colonies, and no man being willing to expose himself to certain persecution. Whether any thing can be done to modify the present system of administering justice, is a question which Your Committee are anxiously considering. They have published communications on the subject from most respectable gentlemen, fully conversant with the state of things in the colonies, and await further information to enable them to act. The general condition of the peasantry, physically, socially, and morally, appears to be encouraging; but it is much to be deplored that the publication of the official reports of the Governors is so long delayed as to render them valueless. Nevertheless, from these documents, applicable as they are only to a condition existing four or five years ago, they fully establish the success of emancipation, which is, perhaps, the main point of interest for the friends of that measure.

Your Committee foresee that they shall be again compelled to moot an inquiry into the working of the present system of Coolie Immigration. It is not their purpose to recapitulate their views upon the subject, nor to vindicate themselves against the unfounded charge of being opposed to the introduction of foreign, or immigrant labour,

under any and all circumstances. The Committee's opposition has been directed against the abuses which they believe are inseparable from the actual system, and experience has fully justified it. To go no further, Your Committee have been horrified to learn, from the published official returns of the Agent-General for Immigration in British Guiana, that the rate of mortality there amongst the introduced Coolie population is at the fearful rate of 25 per cent. annually; a death-rate far exceeding the deadly effect attributed to overwork on the Cuban slave plantations. The attention of the local authorities is being directed to this appalling fact; for if it be established, there can be no doubt of the duty of the Government to interpose, and at once put a stop to a system more deadly than the African slave-trade and Slavery in Cuba combined.

The events transpiring on the American Continent have directed the attention of the West-India planters to the question of encouraging the immigration of refugees, and steps have been taken for this purpose. Without entering into details, Your Committee may say, that, as a rule, no system of immigration is free from the danger of abuse, which does not rest upon the basis of perfectly free contracts, terminable at any time by mutual consent, and upon the current price of labour in the open market; nor do Your Committee think it expedient to encourage the introduction of foreign labour of any kind, so long as the whole and entire cost of it—direct and indirect—is not sustained exclusively by the parties who profess to require it. A departure from the sound economic principles which regulate the price of labour in all other markets, has, in the case of the West Indies, involved many of the colonies in debt, has led to disaffection between the employers and the peasantry, has wholly disturbed the natural relation between demand and supply, as the regulator of the price of wages, and has led to an amount of suffering amongst the introduced labourers, and a rate of mortality, most deplorable to contemplate.

#### THE DUTCH COLONIES.

On the 1st of July last, Slavery came to an end throughout the Dutch West-India colonies, and set free upwards of 50,000 slaves. The conduct of the emancipated was such as their best friends could wish. Early in the morning a salute of 100 guns announced the great event. The people had assembled expectant on the various estates, and as soon as the King's proclamation had been read, they repaired to their places of worship, and gave themselves up for a time to religious exercises. In the capitals, they waited upon the Go-

vernors, and thanked them for the boon of freedom. The first day was observed as a religious holiday: the second was given up to a celebration of the occasion, by feasting and rejoicing; and the third was held as a day of rest. On the fourth day, the freed-men recommenced labour on the estates and elsewhere. No rioting or disorder occurred anywhere, nor have the coloured people since given cause of dissatisfaction. In some instances differences on the subject of contracts and wages have arisen, but these have generally been settled satisfactorily.

Thus has another act of justice been accomplished, with the best results, and though Your Committee could wish the system of Government tutelage did not exist, yet as the exercise of surveillance is made to depend upon the good conduct of the people, the measure is perhaps practically more objectionable in form than in reality.

#### HOME PROCEEDINGS.

The home proceedings of Your Committee have been chiefly confined to watching the efforts of the partisans of the recognition of the South, and endeavouring to counteract them. On the occasion of the motions brought forward last Session, the one in the House of Commons, by Mr. Roebuck, the other in the House of Lords, by Lord Campbell, in favour of measures for the recognition of the Slaveholders' Confederacy, Your Committee issued to Members of both Houses copies of the two tracts referred to in the last Annual Report, namely, "What the South is Fighting for," and "British Aid to the Confederates." Your Committee have reason to believe that the opportune distribution of these papers was not wholly without effect. Later in the year an Association was organized in Manchester, by the fusion of two Societies, each instituted for the special object of promoting an agitation in favour of the Southern slaveholders. This Association, comprising the names of several Members of Parliament, and a subordinate member of the Government, appeared to Your Committee to challenge a degree of attention of which, under other circumstances, it might scarcely have been worthy. Your Committee, therefore, adopted an Address to Viscount Palmerston, that dwelt upon the efforts of Great Britain, during the last half century, to promote the total extirpation of the slave-trade and of Slavery, and upon the vital importance to the interests of humanity, morality, and religion, of resolutely discouraging any tendency to retrogression from a policy which has been productive of unmixed benefit to the race held in bondage. The Address also shewed the extreme danger of recognising a Confederacy based upon Slavery, whose leaders have been pro-

minent advocates of the re-opening of the African slave-trade and argued that Great Britain's alliances with Powers, some of whom were, and some are still, slaveholding, present no precedent for recognising the Southern Slaveholders' Confederacy, because, in the former instances, Slavery is a mere accident, whereas in the case of the Confederate States, it is the basis of their institutions, and a precedent would have to be established in conformity with what is made by them a fundamental and permanent principle. For these and other reasons, the Committee submitted that any recognition of such a Power would be antagonistic to the principles of free government, to the past and the actual policy of Great Britain, and to the welfare and progress of society at large.

Your Committee were also of the view that on anti-slavery grounds alone it behoved them to address Earl Russell on the subject of the construction and equipment in British ports, of steam-raids and war-vessels, intended to strengthen the Southern Confederacy, and enable it to prey upon the commerce of a power with which Great Britain is at peace.\* Your Committee had already published a tract, bearing the title, *British Aid to the Confederates*, reference to which was made in the last Annual Report. This tract set forth, in minute detail, the names of the parties engaged in these nefarious enterprises, and those of the war-vessels in course of construction. One of them having twice changed its name, effected its escape from the Clyde, and having altered it a third time, is now known as the *Georgia*, and is actually in Liverpool. The ports where these vessels were being built were also enumerated, and the fullest information was given of their tonnage, form, and intended armament. This tract was issued to the number of ten thousand, and has since been further circulated, whenever a discussion on the subject of these equipments seemed to render a special distribution desirable. The Committee are rejoiced to acknowledge the effective co-operation of kindred organizations in promoting governmental action in this matter, upon the information obtained and furnished to them partly through the instrumentality of your Committee.

Reference has been made, in an antecedent section of this Report, to the reprehensible proceedings of certain parties, in their

endeavours to procure natives of the Polynesian group to work, under contract, on plantations in Peru. The transaction was only a new slave-trade in disguise. As soon as Your Committee received information of these doings, they addressed a Memorial to Earl Russell, calling his attention to the facts, and urging his immediate interference. His Lordship assured Your Committee that the Government was doing all it could to put an end to this traffic, and Your Committee are gratified to be able to give the assurance that this consummation has been happily effected. The Peruvian Government has not only withdrawn the privilege in virtue of which the labourers were to be introduced, but is proceeding against the parties who abused it.

The French authorities have also acted with praiseworthy promptitude. The Governor of Tahiti, claiming jurisdiction over some of the neighbouring islands from which the Peruvian slavers had carried off victims, at once despatched armed vessels, by which one of the ships was captured, and the captives were set free. The captain and supercargo were brought to trial at Papeete for piracy, and found guilty; the one was sentenced to six, and the other to ten years, penal servitude: a sentence, which, it may be hoped, will deter others from further prosecuting this inhuman enterprise.

In November last, Your Committee again brought the subject of the continuance of the African slave-trade to Cuba, under the notice of Earl Russell. Your Committee, acting upon the plan and the resolutions adopted at the Slave-trade Conference held at Lord Brougham's residence in 1861, and believing that the practical application of certain clauses in the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade entered into with the European Powers, and especially of one in the Washington Treaty of 1842, would produce a result, suggested that taking advantage of these, Her Majesty's Government should assume the initiative to promote a united representation, on the part of the chief of these Powers—to wit, France, Portugal, Holland, and the United States—and a joint remonstrance, addressed to Spain, against her continued violation of her national obligations. Your Committee are of the opinion that these Powers are morally bound, for very consistency's sake, to sustain Her Majesty's Government in a course of action calculated to bring about the consummation of the one object which those treaties had in view, and by which they stamped with reprobation a traffic of unmitigated iniquity; and Your Committee are reluctant to believe that the Spanish Government would prove insensible to so solemn a remonstrance and protest.

\* Some idea may be formed of the extent of these depredations from the following Abstract of a Report presented to Congress on the 25th of February of the present year. The number of vessels captured by rebel privateers was 193, of the total tonnage of 89,704, which, with their cargoes, are estimated at 13,455,600 dollars, or £2,691,120 sterling.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

On the other hand, and looking at passing events on the continent of America, Your Committee believe it is of the utmost importance to make a prompt and vigorous effort to suppress the African slave-trade to Cuba; for should the slaveholders' Confederacy, at present endeavouring to establish its independence, succeed in its object, it is not within the bounds of probability, as its one purpose is to extend and consolidate Slavery, that it will be at all scrupulous as to the means it will employ to obtain slaves in the cheapest market, wherewith to feed its plantations and people the territory under its control. Up to the present time Your Committee have not succeeded in eliciting a response favourable to their suggestion, but they do not intend relinquishing the pursuit of their purpose, and are taking means to bring the proposition under the notice of Parliament without delay.

In the last week of September 1862, a riot broke out on Mount-Bentinck estate, St. Vincent's, in consequence of the injudicious measures of the subordinate local authorities, and soon assumed a serious aspect, although the original cause of the disturbance was very simple. An attempt on the part of a police magistrate to arrest, without proper legal process, some of the labourers who had been designated as ring-leaders in a strike for higher wages, and for the restoration of their accustomed "allowances," was resisted, and the police were driven back. Under the influence of a panic, in nowise justified by the aspect of affairs, the higher authorities proclaimed the island under martial law, enrolled the planters and others into a voluntary militia force, called in the assistance of troops from Barbados, and proceeded to inflict summary chastisement upon the alleged delinquents. Numerous arrests were made, several of the peasantry were killed, and on one certain Sabbath-day an indiscriminate flogging of the inhabitants of an entire village took place, without preliminary investigation into their guilt or their innocence. Excessive punishment was also meted out to those who, upon being brought to trial, were found guilty, and to cover the parties concerned, a Bill of Indemnity was hurried through the Legislature with most indecent haste, and finally the community was taxed to pay the cost of suppressing a riot which, up to the present time, has not been proved not to have been provoked by an illegal act on the part of a police magistrate. Upon receiving a statement of the circumstances of the case, made by a gentleman, whose name Your Committee were authorised to disclose if necessary, and who intimated his willingness to make a

declaration as to the accuracy of the facts set forth, Your Committee addressed His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, transmitting a copy of the statement, and soliciting inquiry. Your Committee wish to do full justice to the desire of the late Colonial Minister, to ascertain the truth in this matter, but the correspondence relating to it, recently issued, shews that no investigation has taken place, that the statement was merely referred by the Governor-General of the Windward Islands to the Lieutenant-Governor of St. Vincent, and to others, who were directly implicated in the alleged outrages, and that these persons simply confine themselves to a vehement denial of the truth of the allegations against them. Your Committee stand charged, under these circumstances, with having promulgated calumnious accusations against individuals, and of employing their influence to create an ill-feeling between the people and their rulers. Your Committee do not consider it would become them to condescend to a vindication of themselves. They have no selfish object to achieve in bringing cases of flagrant wrong under the notice of the proper authorities, and, in the present instance, have the very strongest grounds for believing that the statement upon which they based their request for an inquiry is substantially correct. It may be too late to bring to justice the parties whom an impartial and a thorough investigation might prove guilty, and, indeed, vindictive measures are not the object of Your Committee, but they believe it to be necessary for the future protection of the coloured population of the West Indies generally, that the suggested inquiry should not be evaded, but should be searching and complete; and it is their intention to press for it. The referring of the whole matter back to the parties chiefly interested in preventing inquiry and in defeating its object, presents an appearance of partiality by no means compatible with the requirements of justice.

For some time Your Committee's attention has been anxiously directed to Brazil. Happily the African slave-trade to that country is extinct. For some years now not a fresh slave has been landed from Africa on any part of the Brazilian coast. But Slavery still exists, and Your Committee felt exceedingly desirous of endeavouring, by some means, to stimulate the friends of negro emancipation in the Brazilian empire to take steps to promote it. As the most effective means of directing attention to the whole subject, they determined to address the Emperor, knowing him to be in favour of the abolition of Slavery. In accordance with this resolution, an address on the subject was adopted, and in the absence in this country of any official representative of the Brazilian

Government, in consequence of the suspension—so much to be regretted—of diplomatic relations, a deputation waited upon the Chevalier de Andrada, a gentleman diplomatically connected with Brazil, and for the moment in London, who most courteously undertook to transmit the address to the Emperor. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed for a reply to be received.

Your Committee have, in furtherance of the same object, opened a correspondence with a number of gentlemen in Rio de Janeiro, favourable to the abolition of Slavery, and they are sanguine of being able, in the course of a little time, to report a favourable result of their efforts in this direction.

Although Serfdom and Slavery are not identical, they have certain features in common, which bring them under the category of kindred institutions. Your Committee have felt deeply interested in the measures adopted in Russia, to give full effect to the Emperor's decree, by which 23,000,000 of serfs were unconditionally restored to freedom; and it is most worthy of remark, that their proprietors were unanimous in foregoing any compensation. The results of this measure have been highly encouraging and satisfactory, up to the present time, and Your Committee have had much pleasure in publishing, in the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, the letters on this interesting subject, addressed to them by the Rev. James Long, of Bengal, who lately paid a visit to Russia, for the express purpose of ascertaining, by actual personal investigation on the spot, the true facts of the case. Your Committee transmitted to the Emperor of Russia, some three years ago, an Address, congratulating him upon his heroic decree of serf-emancipation; but believing that the efforts of the individuals who are carrying out his measures so intelligently are entitled to grateful recognition, Your Committee adopted a resolution of congratulation and encouragement, a copy of which has been forwarded to them, and publicity given to it in this country. The resolution is as follows:

#### RESOLUTION.

"The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* desire to record an expression of unqualified satisfaction at the beneficial results of the measures adopted in Russia for the emancipation of the serfs; measures initiated by the Emperor, amidst many dangers, and which have been most ably and comprehensively carried out by the eminent philanthropists at the head of the movement. The Committee having already addressed the Emperor, congratulating him upon his noble work of decreeing the freedom of 23,000,000 of his people, deem it due to those who have so intelligently seconded

him, also to record their high appreciation of their labours, and of their gratification at the results which have attended them up to the present time. Nor would the Committee omit a tribute of respect to the admirable conduct of the serf-proprietors in voluntarily foregoing compensation—an act of unselfishness highly honourable to themselves, and most notable as an example. The Committee believe, that at this particular crisis, when the United States are in the throes of a revolutionary civil war, originating exclusively in the desire of the slave-holders to perpetuate and to consolidate the system of Slavery, the emancipation of the serfs, and the highly-successful working of this measure, are calculated to exercise an encouraging influence upon the Government and the people of those States, and to stimulate them to achieve the emancipation of their slaves, while it may also be hoped that a similar influence may extend to the Governments of countries where Slavery exists, and may induce them to turn their serious attention to devise measures for its speedy and peaceful abolition.

"It is resolved that this Minute be extensively circulated, and that a copy of it be sent to the persons in Russia who have taken part in the serf-emancipation movement."

The slave-trade on the White Nile, which acquired extraordinary development almost simultaneously with the abandonment of the British Consulate at Khartoum, has also occupied the attention of Your Committee. Mr. Charles Buxton has undertaken to move for the correspondence between Mr. Pethe-  
rick, lately Consul at Khartoum, and Her Majesty's Government, including the despatches of the British Consul-General for Egypt, which it is believed will throw considerable light upon the subject, and may perhaps suggest a remedy for the evil.

#### CONCLUSION.

In submitting this succinct account of their labours during the past year, Your Committee would take the opportunity of stating incidentally, that very much of the work of the Society must necessarily elude public observation, and the real value of its efforts can be judged of only by their results. To these the Committee may point with satisfaction. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the official organ of your Society, exercises considerable influence, especially in our West-India Colonies, where it is regarded as the only medium through which the many abuses incidental to class legislation can be made known. Your Committee are in the course of maturing arrangements to secure it a more extended circulation, and trust their endeavours will be duly seconded

by the friends of the anti-slavery cause everywhere.

In their last Annual Report, Your Committee submitted a brief outline of the work still to be done in the anti-slavery field, and intimated that the Society's usefulness was limited only by the amount of means at the disposal of Your Committee. The supplemental annual finance statement issued with the last Report, exhibited an expenditure in excess of income, pointing to the necessity of making an immediate, urgent appeal for prompt and liberal assistance. Your Committee have the gratification to acknowledge that that appeal has been most liberally responded to, up to the present time, by those friends to whom they have hitherto been accustomed to look for pecuniary help, while they have been especially encouraged by donations from negro congregations in some of the West-India Colonies, which in the aggregate have been not inconsiderable, and have proved a welcome addition to your Society's funds. Nevertheless, and while Your Committee gratefully acknowledge this liberal response to their appeal, they would remark that it has been confined to a comparatively restricted circle, which they would gladly see enlarged. The question of the total abolition of Slavery, and the utter extirpation of the Slave-trade, rests upon the very broadest basis of humanity, and appeals directly to the sympathies of all classes; and Your Committee would fain express the hope that many who have not hitherto aided the great work of negro emancipation, may be induced to come forward now, and supply the place of those whose term of earthly labour is drawing to a close. Your Committee, although deeply impressed with the conviction that the terrible civil war in the United States will, in the fulness of time, be overruled by Divine Wisdom, to the benefit of the race held in bondage, and that our duty is rather to "watch and pray," than in any way to interfere, save in so far as we may express sympathy with all peaceful measures tending to promote emancipation, nevertheless believe that a wide field of useful labour yet remains open to your Society. So long as the Slave-trade continues, and Slavery exists anywhere, there will be a necessity for the existence of a Society such as yours, to assert the great principles which underlie the anti-slavery movement, to stimulate public opinion to adopt and apply them, and to check any tendency to retrogression. Your Committee earnestly desire the speedy and complete consummation of your objects, and reverently invoke the Divine guidance and aid in favour of your endeavours.

MR. HENRY STERRY submitted the Annual Balance Sheet, which exhibited a gross

expenditure of 801*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*, against a gross income for the year expired of 872*l.* 4*s.*, leaving a balance in hand of 70*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*\* He stated that those of his friends who had followed his figures might naturally suppose very little had been done, so little money having been expended. A substantial reason might be assigned for this, namely, that there had been no money to expend, and the Committee had, consequently, been compelled to run into debt. It was due, however, to those friends who had so kindly rallied round the Committee, up to the present time, to intimate that their liberality had enabled the Committee to liquidate all the debts due to the end of the year 1863, and also those since incurred, leaving the finances now in a comparatively satisfactory condition.

The SECRETARY then read the list of the Committee and the Officers for the current year and of the Corresponding Members of the Society.†

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. JOHN KENNEDY, M.A., to move the first Resolution, which was as follows:

"That the Report, of which an Abstract has been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee, and that the gentlemen whose names have been submitted to the Meeting be the Committee and officers for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number."

The Rev. gentleman commenced his address by alluding to the gratifying contents of the Report which had been submitted to the Meeting. Such a Report, he ventured to say, had never before been presented to an anti-slavery Meeting, because it contained an announcement of the fact that one million slaves had been emancipated in the Southern States of America. England glories over the emancipation of her own slaves in the West Indies, but their number was only 800,000, while the number now emancipated in America was 1,000,000. The civil war which was raging in America was a great calamity; yet he thought it was a fact for them to rejoice over, that in consequence of the war, 1,000,000 slaves had freed themselves from bondage. The Rev. gentleman then proceeded to say that he had lately been looking into the principles of the Society, and he found that they were these, that so long as Slavery itself existed there was no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade; that Slavery, in other words, furnished such temptations to the prosecution of the slave-trade, that not all the power which could be brought to bear upon it would be sufficient to crush it: that was one of the fundamental principles of this institution. It struck its blow at the root of the evil—Slavery. But there was another principle, and only one other, and that was that the abolition of the slave-trade would be attained most effectually by moral and religious means. He ex-

\* *Vide* Balance Sheet, page 145.

† *Vide* page 145.

pected to find another principle, that Slavery itself was a sinful thing; that Slavery was essentially and without qualification an evil and sinful thing. Perhaps it was wise not to put this into the constitution, but there was no doubt that such was the conviction of a large majority, if not of all who supported this Society. There was one point in the Report to which he wished to refer before sitting down, and that was this: while they did not meddle with the political bearings of the great struggle now going on in America, the Society assembled here to-day felt itself justified to go to the English Government to ask them to do the thing which was right. In anti-slavery matters they had a perfect right to go to their own Government to advise or disadvice them upon certain points in connection with this question. In the event of the Southern States of America accomplishing their separation from the Northern States, this Society had a perfect right to advise the Government not to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy. He was aware that the English Government were in the habit of recognising *de facto* Governments; but he denied that a Government had ever existed which had been established on such a foundation as that on which the Southern Confederacy were now seeking to establish themselves. It sought to establish itself on Slavery as its corner-stone. It not only recognised Slavery, but it made it the very foundation-stone. He knew how Slavery existed in Rome, Greece, and Sparta, but he knew of no place where it was the avowed and recognised foundation of the State. If they had perpetual Slavery they would have a perpetual slave-trade; for if Slavery was right, the argument was logically conclusive that the slave-trade was right. There were those in the South who did not hesitate to declare that the rightness of the one was the test of the rightness of the other. They had now in America a Confederacy seeking to establish itself on a principle which would bring it, by the slave-trade which was sure to spring up, into collision with the Powers of Europe, and which was in the grossest antagonism to all the first principles of morals and religion. And if the time ever came when England was called upon to recognise such a State, he hoped there would be a voice from the Land's End to John o' Groat's which would make the Government of England pause before it committed itself to an alliance with a principle so base and unrighteous.

Mr. SAMUEL BOWLY said: I rise with much pleasure to second this Resolution. I feel that really I have so long laid by my weapons of warfare in this cause that they have got nearly rusty; but perhaps, with a little grinding, there is still some steel left. To stand before an audience like this reminds me of old times, and in viewing a meeting like this the old enthusiasm will arise; and, with Lord Brougham, I feel that "it is a wild phantasy that man can hold property in man." It may not appear that there is much enthusiasm on this question at the present time; but it is most important to keep alive the *Anti-Slavery Society*. I have a sense of deep gratitude towards those gentlemen who have been able to stand together to support the principle

of this cause, and watch over it during the recess of the public meetings. In the few meetings we have had in our part of the country with regard to the American question, I rejoice to find that the hearts of the people are thoroughly sound; and I think that meetings might be got up from one end to another, which would have a powerful influence on the Government, whatever that Government might be. I think we should support this Committee in their efforts, and we need to have these occasional demonstrations of feeling on behalf rather of the educated classes than of the great masses of the people; for I am sorry to observe that the feeling of disinterest on behalf of the question of Slavery seems to have attached itself more to the educated classes than to the lower classes. I was sorry to see in the leading journal of the time, a sort of defence of this iniquitous system. I should never have thought that any man could have been brought to sympathize with the men who are fighting for Slavery in the Southern States. I could understand why the people should not sympathize with the war-spirit in the North. I could understand persons who would feel sympathy for a small body of men seeking to be emancipated from a Government that had oppressed them; but I cannot understand how any man living under a free Government, and living under the profession of Christianity, can sympathize with men who are fighting for a constitution that shall be based upon the iniquitous system of Slavery. I confess I cannot understand it; and we take the opportunity of raising our protest against a Government based on such a principle as that; and it is necessary the people should be prepared in this country to bear their testimony against the propriety of any Government recognising another Government based on such a system. We must bear in mind, too, that we had to fight for the emancipation and abolition of negro Slavery in our own colonies; yet it was not a question of whether it attached to our country or not: we fought in our way for those slaves. We never saw their faces: it was enough for us to be aware of their sufferings to enlist our sympathy. As soon as there is a human being fettered with Slavery, it is our duty to break off those fetters as men and Christians. The character of Slavery can never be reconciled with justice, mercy, or right. If you take away the stimulus of wages from men, you must have a stimulus of brute force. I do not believe that there are not kind slave-owners; but that circumstance makes Slavery all the more terrible. General Butler was once an advocate of Slavery, until he went to live amongst it, when there were unfolded to him such terrible scenes of iniquity, that convinced him that his previous views of Slavery had been wrong and that it was wrong in the sight of God, and he vowed himself for ever after an enemy to such a terrible institution. I would just call attention to those poor fugitives who have escaped from Slavery. I do think they call for the deep sympathy of all anti-slavery friends; for, bear in remembrance, those influential people of property who have sympathies with the South, and have prejudices against the North, have allowed their prejudices to act against support

being given to these poor people. I should not have been surprised to have seen these poor blacks rise up and get rid of their terrible bondage, and lay hands upon their persecutors; but I think their conduct under these circumstances is admirable; and I have full faith that they will continue to support themselves. I feel these human beings are most deserving of the sympathy and care of enlightened Christian people. It is these poor fugitive slaves in the States. People will say, "Well, but what is the use of these things? You cannot do any good: these foreign Governments will take no notice of you." I am of a different opinion. I believe the time is rapidly coming when the expression of sympathies on the part of good men will have a most powerful influence all over the world—an influence far more powerful than any cannon or polished steel. We are promoting a public opinion which will make every tyrant tremble as he exercises his unlawful influence over the family of man. I hope this Society will maintain its staff. Although I have lain by my rusty sword, though I have seen the spring time come and go by, to be followed equally by summer and autumn, and now the winter shows its snow on my mountain-top, yet I am ready to fight again for the old cause, if need be.

THE CHEVALIER DE ALMEIDA PORTUGAL said he wished to bring before the notice of the Meeting something about the state of Slavery in Brazil, and it might be of some importance to those who were so much interested in the Christianity of the world. He could not but say that, as far as his humble opinion enabled him to judge, the Brazilians were anxious to see Slavery at once extinguished from their shores; but considering the small resources that Brazil at the present moment possessed, it was impossible that such a step should be taken at once; but he could draw the attention of the Meeting to the speech of His Majesty, at the opening of the Cortes on the subject of slave-trade, and he knew that the general opinion amongst the Brazilians was so much in favour of the abolition of Slavery, that the leading Parliamentary gentlemen had brought forward measures which would tend to an immediate extinction of Slavery. He knew that the Society had forwarded a petition to his Sovereign on that subject. Knowing therefore the sentiments which animated the Society to take such a step, he would take advantage of this opportunity to bring to their notice the existence of the Aberdeen Act still in force in Parliamentary record. He said that all foreign Powers ought to be convinced of the great wishes that the Brazilian Government had to put an end to the slave-trade, and not only ought they to be convinced of that, but they ought to acknowledge that no other Power could have extinguished that abominable traffic, had it not been for the exertions of the Imperial Brazilian Government itself. He remembered that it was about 1845 to 1848 when Lord Aberdeen's Act passed, and the British fleet was increased in the Brazilian waters, with the view of suppressing more promptly this traffic, carried on almost entirely by Portuguese capitalists, that the slave-dealers also increased their squadron. In 1847, seventy-four slave-trade

vessels sailed from Bahia; but in 1848 that number had increased to ninety-four. The slave-trade, he said, was extinguished by the Brazilian cruisers only, and the immediate measure adopted by the Brazilian Government to expel from the country every one found connected with this dishuman traffic. But in speaking of Slavery he did not wish these views of the extinction of Slavery to be limited to Brazil: he wished to see the abolition of Slavery in all parts of the world: Russia, for instance: it should be abolished there. In America the slave-husband was separated from his wife and children, while in Russia sometimes a slave had been sold for a cask of oysters. But in the Brazils slaves were treated in a very different way. They did not separate man and wife. The owners, in so doing, acted according to their own feelings, and asked themselves the question how they would like to be separated from their wives and children; but they could not at the present moment, for the reasons he had stated before about the resources—they could not at once emancipate the slaves; but while the slaves in Brazil were not exactly their own masters, yet they had great liberties, and their comforts were, to some extent, studied. They were allowed to work in their own time in order to raise capital which they could put to their own uses, and the master was quite willing to give them their freedom for a small trifle, and by so doing they brought to the slave the wish of working and employment of time. Then there was the educational part of the question. In the United States and other places distinctions of colour were made; but in Brazil, if slaves became educated they might rise. He knew a coloured man in the naval department of Brazil who rose himself up to the head of the medical department. This shewed that freedom was one of the first elements of that constitution of Brazil, and, under such banners, no one could believe that they wish to keep on Slavery, which was against the heart of any one who was at all actuated by the principles of religion. He did not think there were two countries more united and more sisterly in their views of freedom than were England and the Brazils. He felt himself proud when he was addressing to them any observations on this subject, for he knew that in their hearts there existed always a wish to shew to the world a feeling of philanthropy and charity towards their fellow-creatures. If it had not been for this he would not have come forward here. His wish was that they should raise their voice to the Committee on this question, and get a public meeting to appeal to the British Government to withdraw from Parliament the Bill which now existed and known as the Aberdeen Bill. He was sure noble sentiments actuated most of the statesmen of England; and that being so, it would be impossible for the petition not to receive their acceptance. He regretted to see the relations of the two nations suspended, and yet that the last notes of Lord John Russell to the Brazilian Government touched, in some respect, the slave-trade. He could not but feel convinced that the right of justice would triumph in the exertions which animated such institutions as the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to

whom he was addressing himself. The Bill was made when slave-trade was carried out in Brazil—in times gone by, when you may say the Brazilians had not shewn their views on the subject; but now the Brazilian Government had shewn its honour by keeping the treaty to the very letter of the law, and it was impossible that the British Government would not at once withdraw when asked by a petition addressed to them by a Society like this. He thought the Government would at once acquiesce to the petition for the withdrawal of the Bill. He was not connected in any way with the Brazilian Government at present, and he was not, therefore, speaking here as the organ of the Government, and the views he expressed were those of a Brazilian, and as such he had a sincere desire to see Slavery entirely extinguished from his own country. The Parliament in Brazil were now working, and the laws which had been brought forward would, he thought, meet their approval. Those laws applied to Slavery, and to the emancipation of the slaves, granting them certain privileges. The revenue of Brazil was only ten millions sterling, while their population of slaves was three millions, and they could not employ the ten millions revenue to emancipate the slaves, because the money was required for the support of the Empire. Nevertheless, the Government would take other means by which to effect the object desired, namely, the freedom of the slaves of Brazil, and he hoped they would be successful.

The SECRETARY said he agreed most completely with what his esteemed friend the Chevalier had stated; but he seemed to have forgotten that the Emperor of Russia had emancipated 23,000,000 of serfs, and therefore, whatever might have been in the past, Slavery did not now exist in Russia.

The Resolution was then put and carried.

The CHAIRMAN said: I very much regret that I have an engagement at two o'clock, which will necessitate my leaving the present Meeting. My friend Mr. Samuel Bowly will, however, take my place. Before leaving the room, I wish to express my gratification at having been present on this occasion, for this is a cause for which I have had much sympathy since my earliest childhood.

The REV. SAMUEL CROWTHER, Bishop designate of the Niger, was then called upon. He said:

I beg to tender my thanks to this Society and to all those who are interested in the abolition of the slave-trade, and the emancipation of the whole world from Slavery, and especially the continent of Africa, of which I am here a representative. I wish, I say, on their behalf, to tender my thanks to them for their benevolent sympathy and their exertions on our behalf. I have had a Resolution put into my hands to move, which I will read to you.

"That, in view of the continued prosecution of the African slave-trade by Spain, and of the failure of the attempts of Her Majesty's Government singly to induce that Power to carry out her treaty obligations for the suppression of the wicked com-

merce in human beings, this Meeting encourages the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to pursue its endeavours to influence Her Majesty's advisers by Parliamentary action and other constitutional means, to take the initiative to secure the co-operation of the Governments of France, Portugal, Holland, the United States, and of any other country, in a joint remonstrance against the connivance of the Spanish authorities in a traffic which the civilized world brands as piracy, and in a demand upon Spain for the adoption of measures that shall ensure its immediate cessation."

In moving this Resolution, Christian friends, I can only just look back to the great efforts made by this nation, and through the means of this Society, for the abolition of the slave-trade in Africa, and the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, and their coadjutors in this great work, come up to my mind. We in Africa look back with gratitude to God for having raised up such benevolent hearts, who cared for us, and expended their money, time, and strength in our behalf, that we might be set free. Whatever may have been brought forward as the reason of the African slave-trade, whether it was from the immediate order and command of God that it should be so, or whether it was the curse denounced by Noah upon Ham, our father, or from whatever cause it may have arisen, I can only come to this one conclusion, that God was a little displeased with us, but man has increased the infliction. Men have increased the slight upon us, and have made us brute beasts, horses and chattels. Surely it is not only Ham that God has denounced. Look at the favoured and chosen people, the Jews, the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. God was only displeased with them for a little time, and is it right, because God was only displeased with them for a little time, and removed them from their favourite Jerusalem, that they should be wanderers in the world, and men take advantage of that to enslave and scatter them through the whole world; all because God was angry with them for a little time? I have heard very many persons say that the Africans were only fit for slaves, and it has been said that the Africans breed their children for Slavery, and that it is better for them to be removed from their own country to Cuba, Brazil, and the United States. I have heard these things; but, Christian friends, let me tell you, that although men may say these things to suit their cupidity and their purpose, yet it is not so. The Africans in their own country feel as free men as the English feel in theirs. But might seems to be right in this case; and because the Africans have not the opportunity of education and enlightenment, they are persecuted, deceived, and oppressed, and they are taken advantage of, and are carried away from their own country, but they have tender bowels of compassion for their children. I have often told those persons who said that the Africans breed their children for the sake of selling them into Slavery, that let the ships come from America, Cuba, Brazil, or

any other slave-trading coast, wherever it may be, and let them line the shores of the coast of Africa, and they will have to wait there a long time before the African mothers bring their children to sell them into bondage. Whatever inducement might be held out, you would never get them to do this. No, though we have been named beasts and chattels, we are not so in our disposition, in our feelings, and in our own land. I was a little slave boy; I knew all the horrors of Slavery; I knew the origin of it. I was once a little happy boy in my own country. My mother had three other little ones besides me. We used to enjoy the comforts of home and the fireside, and I learnt to work at the little farm of my father, and I was initiated into the recreation of hunting in the bushes, and in the forests. In all things we were happy: but what broke up that happiness? Why the slave-trade. My mother never thought of selling me, neither did my father; but one fine morning, after our breakfast, there was a cry, "They are coming—the warriors are coming." These were the men that carried on the slave-trade. They brought in their ships rum and tobacco, and they held it up to the people, and said, "If you want any of this, we will sell it to you; but we want no palm-oil in exchange, we want little boys and little girls :" that was the inducement. These wicked men, seeing the natives want rum, tobacco, guns, and powder, and that they could not get them in any other way, surprise the inhabitants of an undefended town before the morning-light, and, scattering the few men who stand to resist them, they take away men, children, and wives. They take them captives, to supply these slave-ships. It was in this way I was taken, in the very act of clinging to my mother; and that is the way thousands and thousands are taken away from Africa. As we were passing through the town, our elder brothers tried to defend us, but they were put to the sword; and while they were reeking in their blood, houses were set on fire, and every thing was destroyed. One town after another was destroyed like this. There was fearful lamentation as the children were led away; for every tender tie was broken, and the tender bowels of compassion torn asunder. Early in the morning every thing was comfortable at home, and they were enjoying the blessings of family peace and happiness; but before it was noon there was nothing but lamentation and cries of woe. What can any one say about the slave-trade after this? The question is not whether you are comfortable or rich in America, in Spain, in Portugal, in France, and even in your own England; but the question is, whether you are your own master, and are you free? If the white man goes into the interior of Africa to carry away the children, he must not expect to return, for the mothers and fathers will defend their offspring; but if he goes into the country to introduce amongst them some new mode of living, he will be met with welcome. Forty-two years ago I was sold, and was carried across the Atlantic, in a Brazilian ship, from Lagos, where I was bought; and where I suffered for three months the horrors of Slavery; but matters are now altered. Previously, from the coast of

Sierra Leone down to Lagos, a distance of 1300 miles, the whole coast was lined with barracoons, while there is not now one to be seen. And now, with respect to the King of Dahomey. He is a barbarous king, and he is a man who thinks he is doing his ancestors good service by offering annual sacrifices, in order to keep up the custom which has been long established in that country. The whole depends upon the disposition of the king who is reigning, whether he has a great deal of humanity about him, or is bloodthirsty; but it is not because the slaves cannot be sold that they are put to death. He has brought captives by hundreds from the interior, and he has picked out those he was going to sell, and those he was going to sacrifice; and those intended for sacrifice were never intended for sale. As regards the co-operation of other Powers, if such Powers as the Government of France, and Portugal, and others, were to unite, and remonstrate with Spain against the continuance of the slave-trade, it would be entirely crippled. As another inducement by which the slave-trade might be removed from even the centre of Africa, I never heard a more masterly plan than that which was put forth in 1841 by the lamented Sir Fowell Buxton, who put forth that the African liberation depended upon the Gospel and the plough. The Gospel and the plough are to be the key and lever by which the evil is to be rooted out from the centre of Africa. In Abeokuta the cotton-tree was introduced: a few individuals commenced it, and we encouraged them to collect some few bales, which were sent to this country. More demands were made for the cotton; and in a few months those bands of men who had devoted their time to capturing and selling slaves, seeing these peaceful traders were making more money by collecting palm-oil and cotton, threw away their weapons of destruction, and went into their farms to do the same; and there had been since a scarcity of slaves; until lately, when the quarrel took place. If it had not been for this, there would have been a large amount of cotton sent to this country, to relieve Manchester and Lancashire. I told them if they would employ their time and give their attention to the cultivation of cotton, it would be means of much wealth to the country. They said they had no particular wish to destroy each other; and if England would only throw open to them her market, we will supply her with as much cotton as she will want as long as she is England. This, however, was the weapon with which they must fight, and render us this benefit by introducing legitimate trade into the interior of Africa. There are many agents who could be got in Sierra Leone to work until you see your way clear to leave the business in their hands, and in a few years the slave-trade would be abolished, and your purpose, to a great extent, would be accomplished. I have great pleasure in moving this Resolution.

Mr. GERARD RALSTON, Consul-General of Liberia, said: I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution just proposed. Nothing can be more important than that active measures should be taken to influence the Spanish nation to give up the slave-trade; and now is a peculiarly favourable time for action, because it cannot be

doubted that the present great civil war in America is in the course of abolishing Slavery in the Southern States, and, as a natural consequence, a mighty influence will be exerted on the accursed system in the neighbouring island of Cuba. A united remonstrance from France, Portugal, Holland, and America, in co-operation with England, would certainly cause Spain to give up the opprobrium of the age—the slave-trade—particularly as she will be soon convinced that it is out of the question for the continued existence of Slavery in the latter portion of the nineteenth century in any nation of European origin. In reference to the small State of Liberia, which I have the honour to represent, I have great pleasure in saying that it is animated by a sincere desire to do every thing in its power to effect the abolition of the slave-trade. In the several treaties which I have been instrumental in making with many of the nations, I have always striven to have the slave-trade denounced as piracy, but could never succeed until it was my good fortune to meet the excellent Mr. Dubois, the Minister of the Republic of Hayti, who, with the spirit of cheerfulness that well becomes a man of the negro race, consented to denounce the slave-trade as piracy, and to punish it accordingly; and I am happy to say, that in the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, lately concluded between the two Republics, there is an article from which much advantage is anticipated to the social, political, and commercial relations between these kindred nations. One of the articles is as follows: "The slave-trade is assimilated to piracy; it is rigorously prohibited, and the vessels of the two States which may be engaged in this nefarious traffic shall be judged and punished according to the laws in force in their respective countries against piracy." This is more stringent than any article which it has been possible to introduce into any previous treaty by the Liberian Consul, and there is a manifest propriety in the two negro nations denouncing slave-trade as piracy, and punishing it accordingly. Every nation has laws against piracy, but few have them against slave-trade. If all nations would assimilate slave-trade to piracy, as Hayti and Liberia have just done, and also allow the right of search, as England and America have lately done, this nefarious traffic would be put down immediately, and effectually. Liberia has expelled slave-trade from all portions of her territory where formerly it was rife, and carried on with an energy and a cruelty that was disgraceful to humanity. Liberia has lately been fortunate in making a treaty with the United States which she never could effect until the present anti-slavery Cabinet at Washington came into power; and the best results are expected to the welfare and prosperity of my little State from a cordial understanding between the two Republics, the white and black of America and Africa. I am most happy to second the motion moved by the gentleman who has just preceded me.

The Resolution was put and carried.

The Rev. Dr. MASSIE said: I have much pleasure in moving the third Resolution, which is as follows:

"This Meeting would record its satisfaction at the progress the cause of Negro Emancipation has made during the past year, as manifested in the restoration to freedom of all the slaves in the Dutch West-India Colonies, in the self-emancipation of a million of slaves in the United States, and in the legislative measures which have been adopted and are projected by the Government of that country, to effect the total abolition of Slavery throughout the American Union; and, sympathizing in the efforts made to minister to the relief of the freed-men of the Slave States, would commend their cause to the friends of freedom in all lands; and further, in view of the attempts of certain parties in this country, to promote a recognition of the Confederate Slave States, this Meeting would most strongly protest against any recognition of a Confederacy avowing Slavery to be 'the corner-stone of its institutions'; and it emphatically affirms that such a step would not only be in the highest degree inconsistent and culpable on the part of the British nation, which has sacrificed Seventy Millions sterling in efforts to abolish Slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, but would give strength to an institution revolting to humanity, outraging to civilization, and scandalizing to professing Christendom."

The terms, sentiments, and object of this Resolution have my entire approval, and I commend it to your acceptance. I believe though we may not have a large multitude listening to us, yet we may be able to establish principles of freedom which will extend their influence far beyond the limited circle in which we move. Some of the audience, who have just retired from the room (I know from what special circumstances,) have sympathies with other religious objects and less need the advocacy I would now attempt to employ on behalf of the men, women, and children of America. Friends of the freed-men are most desirous to insure co-operation throughout the country, which will bring a seasonable sum of money to be spent in ministering relief, and education, and Christian instruction to those thousands of men of colour who have escaped from bondage. It is the suggestion of one lady, herself willing to work for the purpose, that there be some co-operation throughout all England to reciprocate with our friends in America in efforts which are needful, and which are made for the relief of the distress of those who have gained their freedom after having suffered the ills and woes of Slavery. Remember how the people of America behaved in respect to the Lancashire distress. They freighted ships with provisions from America to our Northern ports, in order that they might minister to the wants of our working people in Lancashire, suffering from the war which is prevailing throughout America. Now, what is the cause of this war? It is a war which has been designed, commenced, and maintained by the leaders of the Southern Confederacy to uphold Slavery: and not only this, it is for the

purpose of promoting Slavery, and extending the radius over which it shall act, increasing the victims whom it shall hold in bondage, and giving more power of oppression to those who are to be the rulers of the nation. The war which has been waged against the Government of the United States is a rebellious war; and the working classes in this country, and especially in Lancashire, suffer in consequence of the determination to maintain Slavery and increase it; and are we to refuse aid to those who have escaped from the abominations of the slave system? It is our business to respond to American sympathies, and to say, "We are here, ready to help you in your efforts to compensate the poor, down-trodden, pillaged negro, and give him an opportunity of raising himself in the scale of society." I fear it is the case that many do not sufficiently recognise the finger of God in this civil war in America. I think that there are many honourable and noble-minded Christians in England, who would give their sympathies for the sake of God's cause, and for the promotion of true religion, if they rightly comprehended the interests at stake; but who yet do not put a penny down to aid the cause of the negro in America. They have wrong notions, and are prejudiced against the cause with which the negroes' welfare is identified; because they have not given time to think what is the aim of those who govern the North, and who are promoting the well-being of the slave. I am deeply interested in the language of the last paragraph of a letter written by the President, Mr. Lincoln, to A. G. Hodges, Esq. He says: "I add a word which is not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of the three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and reverse the justice and goodness of God." I hold that this is not only a philosophical, but a Christian view of the subject, and I think the progress of events will establish it as a statesmanlike view. Mr. Lincoln has in this sentence indicated by whose control, and under whose influence he feels himself to be acting, and I am satisfied that it is that Power unseen, but all-wise, which will cause this curse in America to be abolished and removed. The slaves have been trodden under by the foot of fellow-men; they have been made to bear the yoke of the oppressor; and they have been driven by the scourge of the cruel slave-driver; but they are the objects of God's pity, and they have his sympathies. This is the system these men in the South wish to maintain, and have determined to extend; but we rejoice at the progress America has been making in reference to the abolition of Slavery. Since the last Meeting I have visited America, and have seen the measure of anti-slavery sympathy now awakened, from the boundary of the State of Maine to the Mississippi. I

passed from State to State, and from one part of the larger States to another. My intercourse was so extensive that I had every opportunity of ascertaining the feelings of the people; and I am here to say that Slavery has become, in the eyes of the people of America, the curse of their country, as it is the cause of this rebellion. They look upon it as having alienated the rulers of one State from another, and they say, sweep it away; and no matter that there may be disasters in the field, (and no one could hear of these things without deplored them,) yet I tell you that every battle that has been a disaster to the Northern States has been a fatal blow to Slavery, and has added strength to the intensity of the feelings of the people, that Slavery is the curse of the country, which they are determined to abolish. God is working according to his own counsel, and accomplishing his purpose, which will be to the happiness of the world when Slavery is swept away. The policy of the United States is to take as many of the coloured people as they can into their army. Every separate soldier undergoes a medical examination before he is passed as fit for service; and I was informed, in the United States, that as many sometimes as six or seven men would be rejected for one that would be taken. Why? because these six or seven men had been so battered and maltreated in the state of Slavery that their bones were out of joint. Their bodies are unfit for military discipline, and they are broken down by the terrible calamity under which they have lived and suffered, and it is these people, who are unfit to be soldiers, that are left, with women and children, to work the fields which the Government have set apart for industrial occupation, and for the support of the escaped and emancipated negro. In these stations, under Government arrangement, benevolent men and women have the work of compassion, the work of education, the work of cultivation, until the people are accustomed to habits of industry and self-reliance; and it is but a little while that your sympathies will be needed, so far as outward or bodily support or assistance is required. A little while, and they will rise to the noblest positions of self-reliance. But there is still another branch of Christian effort for those who look at what is required for the Christian instruction of these poor people, who are, in fact, in the very healthiest state to be taught, and are most willing to receive instruction, and are the most docile scholars any teachers could possibly have. Let Christian men and women go down to this place and teach the way of truth, and this million of emancipated slaves will become more than an assembly of soldiers: it will become a power under the right hand of God for the maintenance of his truth, and the diffusion of Christian principles amongst the other coloured people that remain; and by-and-by they will be selected, as our honoured friend and brother, the bishop designate, has been, to be ministers of Jesus Christ, and carry the glad tidings of salvation amongst the multitudes of the people of their coloured race, and this Gospel will be diffused by means of the American war.

The Rev. J. Long said: I will not detain the

Meeting at this late hour; but I cannot refrain from saying a few words respecting the serf-emancipation in Russia. With regard to what our friend the Chevalier stated, as to its not being accomplished, that is not the case. I spent five months last year in Russia, and they were unanimous in admitting that it was completely and finally accomplished. I would say this much. You have heard today, what has been done with regard to Slavery in the West Indies, and other parts of the world; but the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, in my opinion, is the greatest philanthropic measure of the last fifty years. The 23,000,000 of serfs who have been set free will exercise an influence on the world. When living in India, I had serious fears that if a slave nation were established in the South, in consequence of the American war, it would affect us in India. We have a class of men now who look upon the dark race as subjects of degradation, and that they ought not be raised to the same rank and level as the white race. These men would have their influence increased if the Southern States should be declared independent; but we have got these 23,000,000 emancipated, and they will be turning into Asia, and become promoters of abolition elsewhere. These Russian peasants are an extraordinary class of men. They have much energy and locomotive power. They think nothing of a journey of a thousand miles; and in locomotive power they resemble the old Tartars. I look forward with joy to the day when the subjects of India, and the subjects of Russia in Central Asia, will meet, because the two countries are coming closer and closer together, and they will meet as two great anti-slavery Powers. I have no sympathy with the oppression that has been going on; but dark as has been the past, there are gleams of light upon the horizon; and the Emperor of Russia, (I had it upon English testimony in Russia,) whatever view may be taken of his other measures, has, in the emancipation of the serfs shown a spirit of philanthropy similar to that of Wilberforce, Buxton, and others. When he began this measure his life was in danger

he had the nobles against him; but he was determined to release the serfs, and he did so. And there were liberal men in Russia, though their number was limited, who deserved their sympathy. When the measure was brought up in the State four-fifths voted against it, but the Emperor, acting, as he had a perfect right to do, voted with the minority, and the measure was passed by him. With regard to municipal power in Russia, I may mention that the Russian peasants in the villages choose one from amongst them as the head man, and he has to administer justice amongst them. Then, with regard to the education question. Within two years after the serf emancipation had been completed, the number of peasants in the schools amounted to 160,000, and the Russian church has brought out an edition of the New Testament, which is selling at sixpence throughout the length and breadth of the land. The state of the country, during the reign of Nicholas, was such, that I cannot find words to express it; and the day he died it seemed as if a vast weight had been raised from the country. But the present Emperor has inaugurated a fresh policy, and nothing could check him; and I think we ought to give our sympathy to the small party in Russia by whose exertions these measures have been carried out. Serf emancipation is exercising an influence in Russia, which, in ten years time will completely revolutionize the country. The question of a Constitution for Russia is only a question of a few years; and during the five months I was there I had no difficulty with passports: I was not dogged by the police or spies, and I found Russians could speak very freely upon public points; and I also found the liberty of the press superior to that of France. In fact, there is no comparison between the two. The newspapers discuss questions freely, and altogether, from what I saw in Russia, I had reason to thank God and take encouragement. I am happy to second this Resolution.

The Resolution was put and carried.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

## BALANCE SHEET TO 31ST DECEMBER 1863.

| RECEIPTS.                                   |           | EXPENDITURE.                   |           |
|---|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Balance brought forward . . . . .           | £ 29 0 10 | Printing . . . . .             | £ 44 7 2  |
| Donations . . . . .                         | 421 7 7   | Stationery . . . . .           | 31 10 7   |
| Annual Subscriptions . . . . .              | 148 14 6  | Advertisements . . . . .       | 11 13 7   |
| <i>Reporter</i> . . . . .                   | 47 16 3   | Lectures, &c. . . . .          | 27 6 6    |
| Rent . . . . .                              | 112 10 0  | Postage and Carriage . . . . . | 84 13 8   |
| Income Tax Returned off Rent . . . . .      | 2 19 10   | Salaries . . . . .             | 341 16 10 |
| Fugitives, Refunded . . . . .               | 9 15 0    | Rent, Gas, &c. . . . .         | 163 0 4   |
| Advanced by a Member of Committee . . . . . | 100 0 0   | Travelling . . . . .           | 18 18 11  |
|   |           | Newspapers . . . . .           | 9 16 8    |
|   |           | <i>Reporter</i> . . . . .      | 59 9 1    |
|   |           | Fugitives . . . . .            | 3 17 0    |
|   |           | Balance at Bankers . . . . .   | 70 13 8   |
|   | £872 4 0  |                                | £872 4 0  |

## DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.—1863.

|   | Donations. | Ann. Sub. | Donations.   | Ann. Sub. |
|---|------------|-----------|--|-----------|
|   | £ s. d.    | £ s. d.   | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.   |
| Aga Selim, Fernando Po., West Africa . . . . .      | 1 0 0      |           | August Offerings :   |           |
| Alexander, Miss M. B., Reigate . . . . .            | 1 1 0      |           | per Rev. J. Clarke, Sava-nna-la-Mar, Jamaica . . . . .       | 5 0 0     |
| Alexander, Miss S. A., ditto . . . . .              | 1 1 0      |           | „ Ditto, ditto, ditto . . . . .                              | 4 3 0     |
| Alexander, F., Esq., Woodbridge . . . . .           | 0 10 0     |           | „ per Rev. J. Kettley, Demerara . . . . .                    | 2 5 2     |
| Alexander, Mrs. F., ditto . . . . .                 | 0 10 0     |           | „ Rev. W. Teal, Jamaica, per J. E. Henderson . . . . .       | 5 10 0    |
| Allen, William, Winchmore Hill . . . . .            | 2 0 0      |           | „ Rev. E. Hewett, ditto, per ditto . . . . .                 | 4 10 0    |
| Allen, Richard, Dublin . . . . .                    | 2 0 0      |           | „ Rev. W. Dendy, ditto, per ditto . . . . .                  | 4 5 7     |
| Allen, Elizabeth, Liskeard . . . . .                | 0 10 0     |           | „ Rev. J. G. Bennett, ditto, per ditto . . . . .             | 0 12 0    |
| Alsop, Robert, Stoke Newington . . . . .            | 1 0 0      |           | „ Rev. R. Dalling, ditto, per ditto . . . . .                | 0 8 6     |
| Anti-Slavery Meeting, St. John's, Jamaica . . . . . | 2 0 0      |           | „ Rev. J. Pearson, St. Thomas in the Vale, Jamaica . . . . . | 2 2 4     |
| Armstrong, Mrs., Lancaster . . . . .                | 1 0 0      | 1 0 0     | „ Rev. J. A. Henderson, Belize . . . . .                     | 1 12 0    |
| Ashby, Thomas, Staines . . . . .                    |            |           |  |           |
| A. W. H., Barbadoes . . . . .                       | 1 1 0      |           |  |           |
|   | 4 1 0      | 10 12 0   |  |           |
|   |            |           | 34 9 7   | 10 12 0   |
|   |            |           | b  |           |

|  | Donations. | Ann. | Sub. |         | Donations.                                       | Ann. | Sub. |
|--|------------|------|------|---------|--|------|------|
|  | £          | s.   | d.   |         | £  | s.   | d.   |
|  | £34        | 9    | 7    | 10 12 0 | £240   | 9    | 2    |
| August Offerings:  |            |      |      |         | 44   | 14   | 6    |
| Jericho and Mount Hermon, Jamaica, per Rev. Jas. Hume . . . . .            | 8          | 0    | 0    |         | 1  | 0    | 0    |
| " per Rev. W. Al-loway, Jamaica . . . . .                                  | 3          | 0    | 0    |         | 1  | 1    | 0    |
| " Rev. John Clarke, Savanna-la-Mar, Ja-maica . . . . .                     | 2          | 0    | 0    |         | 1  | 1    | 0    |
| " Smith's Church, George Town, Demerara, per Rev. E. Wallbridge . . . . .  | 1          | 0    | 0    |         | 1  | 1    | 0    |
| " Mount Holstein, St. George's, Jamaica, per Rev. G. Rouse . . . . .       | 1          | 1    | 9    |         | 1  | 0    | 0    |
| " per Rev. J. Clarke, Fuller's field station . . . . .                     | 0          | 17   | 0    |         | 5  | 0    | 0    |
| Backhouse, K. Darlington . . . . .   | 2          | 0    | 0    |         | 0  | 10   | 0    |
| Backhouse, James, York . . . . .   | 0          | 10   | 0    |         | 0  | 2    | 6    |
| Baker, Josiah, Newcastle . . . . .   | 0          | 2    | 6    |         | 134  | 3    | 11   |
| Balance of Special Fund . . . . .  |            |      |      |         | Ball, William, Tottenham . . . . .               | 2    | 2    |
| Banbury Ladies' Associa-tion . . . . .                                     | 4          | 0    | 0    |         | 0  | 0    | 0    |
| Bassett, John D., Leighton Buzzard . . . . .                               | 1          | 1    | 0    |         | Exeter Subscriptions, per J. B. Wilkey . . . . . | 2    | 0    |
| Beaumont, William, New-castle . . . . .                                    | 2          | 2    | 0    |         | Falmouth Ladies' Associa-tion . . . . .          | 1    | 1    |
| Bell, The Misses . . . . .   | 1          | 0    | 0    |         | Fawcus, M., North Shields . . . . .              | 0    | 10   |
| Bewley, Samuel, Dublin . . . . .   | 1          | 0    | 0    |         | Ferguson, Robert . . . . .                       | 1    | 1    |
| Birmingham Ladies' Ne-groes' Friend Associa-tion, per M. Cadbury . . . . . | 15         | 0    | 0    |         | Finlay, James . . . . .                          | 1    | 1    |
| Binns, T., Tottenham . . . . .   | 1          | 1    | 0    |         | Fiske, Henry, Taunton . . . . .                  | 0    | 5    |
| Bowley, Samuel, near Stroud . . . . .                                      | 0          | 10   | 6    |         | Fletcher, Caleb, York . . . . .                  | 1    | 0    |
| Bowman, Henry, Bakewell . . . . .  | 1          | 1    | 0    |         | Fothergill, Miss, Hensol Castle . . . . .        | 2    | 0    |
| Boys, Mr. Brighton . . . . .   | 1          | 1    | 0    |         | Forster, Josiah, Esq., Tot-tenden . . . . .      | 9    | 0    |
| Bradford Subscriptions . . . . .   | 5          | 5    | 0    |         | Forth, Robert, Newcastle . . . . .               | 0    | 2    |
| Brown, Henry . . . . .   | 0          | 2    | 6    |         | Foster, Mrs. Mary, Truro . . . . .               | 1    | 0    |
| Brown, Potto . . . . .   | 1          | 1    | 0    |         | Foster, Robert, Newcastle . . . . .              | 0    | 5    |
| Brown, Francis, Brighton . . . . .   | 1          | 1    | 0    |         | Fox, Samuel, Esq., Tot-tenden . . . . .          | 5    | 0    |
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| Cadbury, James . . . . .   | 0          | 10   | 0    |         | Gibson, Mrs. D., Saffron Walden . . . . .        | 0    | 5    |
| Candler, John, Chelmsford . . . . .  | 0          | 10   | 6    |         | Gibson, G. S. Esq., ditto . . . . .              | 10   | 0    |
| Carr, Hon. Judge, Sierra Leone, Africa . . . . .                           | 3          | 3    | 0    |         | Gordon, G. W., Esq. . . . .                      | 10   | 0    |
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|  |            |      |      |         | 77   | 8    | 6    |

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|  | 410                  | 7  | 7  | 114 | 10                   | 6  |      |     |    |
|  | 421                  | 7  | 7  | 148 | 14                   | 6  |      |     |    |

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